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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



















THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
North and South America,  
FROM ITS DISCOVERY  
TO THE  
Death of General Washington.

—\*—  
BY RICHARD SNOWDEN, Esq.

—\*—  
IN TWO VOLUMES.

*Mounting 1 map of America  
Map 5. America unexplored*  
VOL. I.

—\*—  
PHILADELPHIA:

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DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, to wit:

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twelfth day of June, in the twenty-ninth year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1805, JACOB JOHNSON, of the said district, hath deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"The History of North and South America, from its Discovery to the  
"Death of General Washington, By Richard Snowden, Esq. In two  
"volumes. Vol. I."

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to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein  
mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing,  
engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

(L. S.)

D. CALDWELL,

Clerk of the district of Pennsylvania.



## PREFACE.

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TO furnish the public with a cheap history of America, from its discovery, to its present state of civilization and importance, is an undertaking of such general utility, that the attempt, if it even falls short of complete execution, has a claim to a considerable share of indulgence. This is more especially the case, when the writer has to follow a historian of such great and just celebrity as Dr. ROBERTSON, in at least one half of the work.

To compose such a historical epitome as is desirable, from scattered materials, is a difficulty of such magnitude, as wholly to discourage the attempt; and to abridge the pages of so great an original, where there is nothing superfluous, nothing the reader would wish omitted, is a design, which to many will seem to border on temerity. But this abridgement has been preferred, as it is attended with the least chance of disappointment; and to borrow is not dishonourable, when the obligation is candidly acknowledged.

In what relates to South America, Dr. ROBERTSON's history has, therefore, been implicitly followed. His arrangement of the subject, his chronological order, and his very style have been adopted, as the best that can be chosen. To condense his details, to introduce only the most prominent and characteristic events, has been the principal effort, and invariable purpose of the epitomiser: endeavouring as he progressed, to preserve unbroken, the connexion and continuity of events; and in the whole, to present the reader with a brief, but interesting view, of one of the most important æras in the annals of the world.

So far the writer travelled with pleasure: but, in tracing the subsequent part, the history of North America, he has cause to regret with all his contemporaries, the absence of so pleasing and faithful a guide....being obliged to collect materials from

different sources, none of which are complete, of all the British settlements in north America, from their first landing to their final separation from the parent state.

The settlement of these colonies being made at different periods, with charters of incorporation extremely variant, and with governments as distinct as their geographical boundaries, rendered a history of the British empire in America, extremely complex and difficult. From this heterogeneous mass, however, the writer has endeavoured, with considerable labour, to educe a summary of those events that paved the way to the American Revolution; and which will constitute the introduction to the future histories of the UNITED STATES.

In that portion of the work which succeeds the confederation of the colonies, and the consequent declaration of Independence, we set our feet on surer ground: we revive events that happened in our own memory; and of which there are faithful records within the reach of most of our readers. In treating on this part of the subject, it is not a very easy task, wholly to avoid that collision of opinions which is inseparable from free governments, and which constitutes so great a part in the annals of United America. This, however difficult, the writer has endeavoured to avoid, confining himself, as much as possible, to a history of facts, and to those only that are of a national concern. His principal object has been to present his readers with a comprehensive view of the whole, without any respect to the politics of a single state or party; and to excite, if possible, a zeal for the general welfare and honour of our common country....How far he has succeeded in this, as well as other parts of the work, must be left to the candid reader; to whom it is now very respectfully submitted.

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# HISTORY OF AMERICA.

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THE discovery of America has led to events unrivalled in modern history, and we cannot sufficiently admire that steady unconquerable resolution, that amazing force of mind which carried the first bold discoverer through all opposition, and over innumerable obstacles, to the ultimate end of his grand design. The intelligent reader will be agreeably entertained in following this skilful navigator, through unknown seas, in search of a New World : every little incident during the voyage will appear of sufficient magnitude to fix the attention, and excite a strong sympathy with the adventurous chief, in all the various turns of his fortune.

This first volume will contain what Dr. Robertson calls the most splendid portion of the American story : he is undoubtedly right as far as it respects South America, and it is so detached, as to form a perfect whole by itself. Most of the prominent facts are a faithful transcript from that accurate and elegant historian. According to his note, No. XI. Christopher Columbus was born, A. D. 1447 : the place of his birth is not ascertained, but it appears he was a subject of the republic of Genoa, and was allured into the service of the Portuguese by the fame of their discoveries : he was descended from an honourable family, though reduced to indigence by various misfortunes.

Columbus discovered in his early youth, a strong propensity and talents for a sea-faring life : this propensity his parents encouraged by the education they gave him ; after acquiring some knowledge of the Latin tongue, the only language in which science was taught at that time, he was instructed in geometry, cosmography, astronomy, and the art of drawing. To these he applied with such unremitted ardour, as they were so intimately connected with navigation, his favourite object, that he advanced with rapid proficiency in the study of them. Thus qualified he went to sea at the age of fourteen, and began his career on that element, which conducted him to so much glory. His early voyages were to those ports in the Mediterranean which his countrymen, the Genoese, frequented. This being too narrow a sphere for his active mind, he made an excursion to the northern seas, and visited the coast of Iceland ; he proceeded beyond that island, (the Thule of the ancients) and advanced several degrees within the polar circle.

This voyage enlarged his knowledge in naval affairs more

than it improved his fortune ; afterwards he entered into the service of a famous sea-captain of his own name and family. This man commanded a small squadron, fitted out at his own expense, and by cruising against the Mahometans and Venetians, the rivals of his country in trade, had acquired both wealth and reputation. Columbus continued in the service of this captain for several years, distinguished both for his courage and experience as a sailor : at length in an obstinate engagement off the coast of Portugal, with some Venetian caravals, returning richly laden from the low countries, the vessel on board of which he was took fire, together with one of the enemy's ships, to which it was fast grappled.

In this dreadful extremity his intrepidity and presence of mind did not forsake him ; for throwing himself into the sea, and laying hold of a floating oar, by his own dexterity in swimming, he reached the shore, though above two leagues distant. Thus was a life saved, reserved for great undertakings.

When he had recovered sufficient strength, he repaired to Lisbon, where many of his countrymen resided, who warmly solicited him to stay in that kingdom, where his naval skill and experience could not fail of procuring him that reward, which his merit entitled him to. Columbus listened with a favourable ear to the advice of his friends : married a Portuguese lady, and fixed his residence at Lisbon. By this alliance, the sphere of his naval knowledge was enlarged. His wife was a daughter of Bartholomew Perestrello, one of the captains employed by prince Henry, and who, under his protection, had discovered and planted the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira.

Columbus, from the journals and charts of this experienced navigator, learned the course which the Portuguese had held in making their discoveries. The study of these gratified and inflamed his favourite passion ; and, while he contemplated the maps and read the descriptions of the new countries which Perestrello had seen, his impatience to visit them became irresistible. In order to indulge it, he made a voyage to Madeira, and continued during several years to trade with that island, with the Canaries, the Azores, the settlements in Guinea, and all the other places which the Portuguese had discovered on the continent of Africa.

He was now become one of the most skilful navigators in Europe ; but his ambition aimed at something more. The mind of Columbus, naturally inquisitive, and capable of deep reflection, was often employed in revolving the principles upon which the Portuguese had founded their schemes of discovery, and the mode in which they had carried them on.

The great object in view, at that period, was to find out a passage by sea to the East Indies. From the time that the Portuguese



doubled Cape de Verd, this was a point they were anxiously solicitous to attain; in comparison with it, all discoveries in Africa appeared inconsiderable. But how intent soever the Portuguese were upon discovering a new route to those desirable regions, they searched for it only by steering towards the south, in hopes of arriving at India, by turning to the east, after they had sailed round the utmost extremity of Africa. This course, however, was still unknown; and if discovered, was of such immense length, that a voyage from Europe to India, must have appeared an undertaking extremely arduous, and of very uncertain issue.

More than half a century had been employed in advancing from Cape Non to the equator; a much longer space of time might elapse before the extensive navigation from that to India could be accomplished. These reflections upon the uncertainty, and the danger of the course which the Portuguese were pursuing, led Columbus to consider, whether a shorter and more direct passage to the East Indies might not be found out. After revolving long, and attentively, every circumstance suggested by his superior knowledge in the theory, as well as practice of navigation, after comparing the observations of modern pilots with the conjectures of ancient authors, he at last concluded, that by sailing directly towards the west, across the Atlantic ocean, new countries which probably formed a part of the vast continent of India, must infallibly be discovered.

The spherical figure of the earth was known, and its magnitude ascertained with some degree of accuracy. From this it was evident, that the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, formed but a small portion of the terraqueous globe. It appeared likewise very probable that the continent on this side the globe was balanced by a proportional quantity of land in the other hemisphere. These conclusions concerning another continent, drawn from the figure and structure of the globe, were confirmed by the observations and conjectures of modern navigators.

A Portuguese pilot having stretched farther to the west than usual at that time, took up a piece of timber artificially carved, floating upon the sea; and as it was driven towards him by a westerly wind, he concluded that it came from some unknown land situated in that quarter. Columbus's brother-in-law, also had found to the west of the Madeira isles, a piece of timber, fashioned in the same manner, and brought by the same wind; and had seen likewise canes of an enormous size floating upon the waves, which resembled those described by Ptolmy, as productions peculiar to the East Indies. After a course of westerly winds, trees torn up with their roots, were often driven upon the coasts of the Azores, and at one time the dead bodies of two men, with singular features, which resembled neither the inhabitants of Europe, nor of Africa, were cast ashore there.

To a mind capable of forming and executing great designs as that of Columbus, these observations and authorities operated in full force with his sanguine and enterprizing temper : speculation led immediately to action, fully satisfied himself with respect to the truth of his system, he was impatient to bring it to the test of experiment, and to set out on a voyage of discovery.

The first step towards this, was to secure the patronage of some of the considerable powers in Europe, capable of undertaking such an enterprize. His affection for his native country not extinguished by absence, he wished should reap the fruits of his labours and invention. With this view he laid his scheme before the senate of Genoa, and offered to sail under the banners of the republic, in quest of the new regions he expected to discover. But Columbus had resided so many years in foreign parts that his countrymen were unacquainted with his abilities and character ; they therefore inconsiderately rejected his proposal, as the dream of a chimerical projector, and lost forever the opportunity of restoring their commonwealth to its ancient splendour.

Columbus was so little discouraged by the repulse which he had received, that instead of relinquishing his object, he pursued it with fresh ardour.

He next made an overture to John II. king of Portugal, whom he considered as having the second claim to his services. Here every thing seemed to promise him a more favourable reception. He applied to a monarch of an enterprising genius, no incompetent judge in naval affairs, and proud of patronizing every attempt to discover new countries. His subjects were the most experienced navigators in Europe, and the least apt to be intimidated either by the novelty or boldness of any maritime expedition.

In Portugal the skill of Columbus in his profession, as well as his personal good qualities, were well known ; accordingly the king listened to him in the most gracious manner, and referred the consideration of his plan to Diego Ortiz, bishop of Ceuta, and two Jewish physicians, eminent cosmographers, whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind. As he had in Genoa to combat with ignorance, in Lisbon prejudice, an enemy no less formidable, opposed him ; the persons to whose decision his project was referred were the chief directors of the Portuguese navigation, and had advised to search for a passage to India by steering a course directly opposite to that which Columbus recommended, as shorter and more certain. They could not, therefore, approve of his proposal, without submitting to the double mortification, of condemning their own theory, and of acknowledging his superior sagacity.

After a fruitless and mortifying attendance, being teased with captious questions, and starting innumerable objections, with a view of betraying him into such a particular explanation of his system, they deferred passing a final judgment, with respect to it; but secretly conspired to rob him of the honour and advantages which he expected from the success of his scheme, advising the king to despatch a vessel secretly, in order to attempt the proposed discovery, by following exactly the course which Columbus seemed to point out. The king, forgetting on this occasion, the sentiments becoming a monarch, meanly adopted this perfidious counsel. But the pilot chosen to execute Columbus's plan, had neither the genius nor the fortitude, of its author; he returned, as might have been expected, without accomplishing any thing; execrating the project as equally extravagant and dangerous.

Upon discovering this dishonourable action, he instantly quitted the kingdom, and landed in Spain, towards the close of the year 1484, when he determined to propose it in person to Ferdinand and Isabella, who at that time governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. But as he had already experienced the uncertain issue of applications to kings and ministers, he took the precaution of sending into England his brother Bartholomew to whom he had fully communicated his ideas; in order that he might, at the same time, negotiate with Henry VII, who was reputed one of the most sagacious, as well as opulent, princes in Europe. Columbus entertained doubts and fears with respect to the reception of his proposals in the Spanish court.

Spain was engaged at that juncture, in a dangerous war with Granada, the last of the Moorish kingdoms. The cautious and suspicious temper of Ferdinand was not congenial with bold and uncommon designs. Isabella, though more generous and enterprising, was under the influence of her husband in all her actions.

The Spaniards had hitherto made no efforts to extend navigation beyond its ancient limits, and beheld the amazing progress of discovery among their neighbours, the Portuguese, without making one attempt to imitate or rival them. Under circumstances so unfavourable it was not likely that Columbus could make a rapid progress with a nation naturally slow and dilatory in performing all its resolutions.

His character, however, was well adapted to that of the people, whose confidence and protection he solicited. He was grave, though courtly in his deportment; circumspect in his words and actions; irreproachable in his morals: and exemplary in his attention to all the duties of religion. By these qualities he gained many private friends, and acquired such



general esteem, that he was considered as a person to whose propositions serious attention was due.

Ferdinand and Isabella, though fully occupied by their operations against the Moors, paid so much regard to Columbus as to refer the consideration of his plan to the queen's confessor, Ferdinand de Talavera. He consulted such of his countrymen as were supposed best qualified to decide upon a subject of this nature; these pretended philosophers selected to judge in a matter of such moment, did not comprehend the first principles, upon which Columbus founded his conjectures and hopes. Some of them from mistaken notions, concerning the dimensions of the globe, contended that a voyage to those remote parts of the earth, which Columbus expected to discover, could not be performed in less than three years, others concluded he would find the ocean to be of infinite extent, according to the opinion of some ancient philosophers; or if he should persist in steering towards the west, beyond a certain point, that the convex figure of the globe would prevent his return, and that he must inevitably perish in the vain attempt to open a communication between the two opposite hemispheres which nature had forever disjoined. Some contended that it was presumptuous in any person to suppose that he alone possessed knowledge superior to all the rest of mankind united: that if there were really any such countries as Columbus pretended, they could not have remained so long concealed, nor would the sagacity and wisdom of former ages have left the glory of this invention to an obscure Genoese pilot.

Columbus's patience was put to the severest trial in listening to these ignorant and malicious insinuations: after innumerable conferences, and wasting five years in fruitless endeavours to inform and satisfy them, Talavera at last made such an unfavourable report to Ferdinand and Isabella, as induced them to acquaint Columbus, that until the war with the Moors should be brought to a final period, it was impossible for them to engage in any new and expensive enterprize.

This declaration Columbus considered as a total rejection of his proposals. But happily for mankind superiority of genius is usually accompanied with an ardent enthusiasm, which can neither be cooled by delays, nor damped by disappointments. The insolence of office may depress, but cannot extinguish it, as it soars above the littleness of human pride.

Columbus was of a sanguine temper, though he felt deeply the cruel blow given to his hopes, and retired immediately from a court where he had been long amused with vain expectations. His confidence in the justness of his own system did not forsake him; and his impatience to demonstrate the truth of it became greater than ever.

Having thus failed of success with sovereign states, he next applied to persons of inferior rank, and addressed the dukes of Medina, Sidonia, and Medina Celi, who, though subjects, were possessed of power and opulence sufficient for the enterprize which he projected. His proposals to them were, however, fruitless; they did not choose to countenance a scheme which Ferdinand had rejected, even if they had approved of the enterprize. They were afraid of alarming the jealousy, and offending the pride of Ferdinand, by acting counter to his judgment. Such a succession of disappointments excited the most painful sensations; and his distress was augmented by his not having received any accounts from his brother, whom he had sent to the court of England. In his voyage to that country Bartholomew fell into the hands of pirates who stripped him of every thing, and detained him a prisoner several years. At length he made his escape, and arrived in England, but in such extreme indigence, that he was compelled to employ a considerable space of time in drawing and selling maps, in order to obtain as much money as would enable him to purchase a decent dress, in which he might venture to appear at court. He then laid before the king the proposals with which he had been entrusted by his brother; and, notwithstanding Henry's excessive caution and parsimony, which rendered him averse to new and expensive undertakings, he received the overtures of Columbus with more approbation, than any monarch to whom they had hitherto been presented.

Columbus, in the meanwhile unacquainted with his brother's fate, and all hopes of succeeding in Spain being vanished, he resolved to visit the court of England in person. He had already made preparations for this purpose, and taken measures for the disposal of his children during his absence, when Juan Perez, the Prior of the monastery of Ribada near Palos, in which they had been educated, earnestly solicited him to defer his journey for a short time. Perez was a man of considerable learning, and of some credit with queen Isabella, to whom he was personally known. Warmly attached to Columbus, and prompted by curiosity or friendship, he entered upon an accurate examination of his system, in conjunction with a physician, who was a good mathematician.

This investigation satisfied them so thoroughly with respect to the principles upon which Columbus founded his opinion, that Perez fearing his country would lose the glory and benefit of so grand an enterprize, ventured to write to Isabella, conjuring her to consider the matter over again, and with the attention it merited.

Isabella was so far moved by this representation, that she desired Perez to repair immediately to the village of Santa Fè, in which on account of the siege of Granada, the court resided



at that time, that she might confer with him upon this important and interesting subject.

The first effect of their interview was a gracious invitation of Columbus back to court, accompanied with the present of a small sum to equip him for the journey. As there was a near prospect that the war with the Moors would be speedily brought to a happy issue, by the reduction of Granada, which would leave the nation at liberty to engage in new undertakings; this, as well as the mark of royal favour with which Columbus had lately been honoured, encouraged his friends to appear with greater confidence than formerly, in support of his scheme.

Of these Alonzo de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances in Castile, and Luis de Santangel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Arragon, whose zeal in promoting this great design, entitles their names to an honourable place in history; these gentlemen introduced Columbus to many persons of high rank, and interested them warmly in his cause. Ferdinand's distrustful prudence could not easily be overcome, he considered the project as extravagant and chimerical: and in order at once to destroy the efforts of his partizans, and render them ineffectual, he employed in the new negotiation persons who had formerly pronounced his scheme impracticable.

To their astonishment Columbus appeared before them with the same confident hopes of success as formerly, and insisted upon the same high recompense. He proposed that a small fleet should be fitted out, under his command, to attempt a discovery, and demanded to be appointed perpetual and hereditary admiral and viceroy of all the seas and lands he should discover, and to have the tenth of the profits arising from them, settled irrevocably upon him and his descendants. At the same time he offered to advance the eighth part of the sum necessary, for accomplishing the design, on condition of his enjoying a proportional share of benefit from the adventure. If the enterprize should totally miscarry, he made no stipulation for any reward or emolument whatever.

Instead of viewing this last proposition as the clearest evidence of his full persuasion, with respect to the truth of his own system, or being struck with admiration with that magnanimity which after so many delays and repulses, would stoop to nothing inferior to its original claims, the persons with whom Columbus treated, nearly objected to the expense of the expedition, and the value of the reward which he demanded.

The expense they affirmed would be too great for Spain, in the present exhausted state of its finances. They contended the honours and emoluments claimed by Columbus, were exorbitant, even if he should perform the utmost of what he had proposed; and that if the expedition should prove abortive, such vast con-

essions to an adventurer would be deemed inconsiderate and ridiculous.

These cautious objections were so consonant with the natural disposition of Ferdinand, that he cordially approved of them, and Isabella discouraged, declined giving any countenance to Columbus, and abruptly broke off the conference.

The mind of Columbus, firm as it was, could hardly support the shock of such an unforeseen reverse. He withdrew in deep anguish from court, with an intention of prosecuting his voyage to England, as his last resource.

About that time Granada surrendered, and Ferdinand and Isabella, in triumphal pomp, took possession of a city, the reduction of which rendered them masters of all the provinces extending from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal, Quintanilla and Santangel taking advantage of this favourable event, made one more effort in behalf of their friend. They addressed themselves to Isabella, and after expressing their surprise that she who had always been the liberal patroness of generous undertakings, should hesitate so long to countenance the most splendid scheme that had ever been proposed to any monarch; they represented to her, that Columbus was a man of sound understanding and virtuous character, well qualified by his experience in navigation, as well as his knowledge of geometry, to form just ideas with respect to the structure of the globe, and the situation of its various regions: and that by offering to risk his own life and fortune in the execution of his scheme, they gave the most satisfying evidence both of his integrity and hope of success; that the sum requisite for equipping such an armament was inconsiderable, and the advantages that might accrue from his undertaking, were immense; that he demanded no recompense for his invention and labour, but what was to arise from the countries which he should discover; that as it was worthy of her magnanimity, and to make this noble attempt to extend the sphere of human knowledge, and to open an intercourse with regions hitherto unknown; that Columbus was on his way to foreign countries, where some prince would close with his proposals, and Spain would forever bewail the fatal timidity which had excluded her from the glory and advantages that she had once in her power to have enjoyed.

These powerful arguments urged by persons of such authority, and at a juncture so well chosen, had the desired effect. Isabella's doubts and fears were all dispelled; she ordered Columbus instantly to be recalled, declared her resolution of employing him on his own terms, and regretting the low state of her finances, generously offered to pledge her own jewels in order to raise as much money as would be wanted for making the necessary preparations for the voyage. Santangel transported with gratitude

kissed the queen's hand, and rather than she should have recourse to such a mortifying expedient for procuring money, engaged to advance immediately the sum that was requisite.

Columbus, ignorant of this change in his favour, had proceeded some leagues on his journey, when the messenger overtook him. Upon receiving the account so flattering to his hopes, he returned directly to Santa Fé, not without some diffidence mingling with his joy. But the cordial reception which he met with from Isabella, together with the near prospect of setting out upon that voyage which had so long engrossed his thoughts and wishes, soon effaced the remembrance of past sufferings, during eight years tedious solicitation and anxious suspense.

The negotiation now went on with facility and despatch; and a treaty with Columbus was signed on the seventeenth of April 1492. The chief articles of it were.

1. Ferdinand and Isabella, as sovereigns of the ocean, constituted Columbus their high admiral in all the seas, islands, and continents, which should be discovered by his industry; and stipulated, that he, and his heirs, forever, should enjoy this office, with the same powers and prerogatives, which belonged to the high admiral of Castile, within the limits of his jurisdiction.

2. They appointed Columbus their viceroy in all the islands and continents he should discover; but if, for the better administration of affairs, it should hereafter be necessary to establish a separate governor in any of those countries, they authorized Columbus to name three persons, of whom they would choose one for that office: and the dignity of viceroy, with all its immunities, was likewise to be hereditary in the family of Columbus.

3. They granted to Columbus, and his heirs forever, the tenth of the free profits accruing from the productions and commerce of the countries, which he should discover.

4. They declared, that if any controversy or law-suit, shall arise with respect to any mercantile transaction, in the countries which should be discovered, it should be determined by the sole authority of Columbus, or of judges to be appointed by him.

5. They permitted Columbus to advance one eighth part of what should be expended in preparing for the expedition, and in carrying on commerce with the countries which he should discover; and entitled him in return to an eighth part of the profit.

Notwithstanding the name of Ferdinand appears conjoined with that of Isabella in this transaction, his distrust of Columbus was so violent that he refused to take any part in the enterprize, as king of Arragon. As the whole expense of the expedition, excepting the part Columbus was to furnish, was defrayed by the crown of Castile, Isabella reserved for her subjects of that kingdom, an exclusive right to all the benefits which might redound from its success.



When the treaty was signed, Isabella endeavoured to make some reparation to Columbus for the time he had lost in fruitless solicitation, by her attention and activity in forwarding the preparations.

By the twelfth of May, all that depended on her was adjusted; and Columbus waited on the king and queen, in order to receive their final instructions. Every thing respecting the destination and conduct of the voyage was committed entirely to his wisdom and prudence. But that they might avoid giving any just cause of offence to the king of Portugal, they strictly enjoined him not to approach near to the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Guinea; nor in any of the other countries, to which they claimed right as discoverers.

The ships of which Columbus was to take the command, were ordered by Isabella to be fitted out in the port of Palos, a small maritime town in the province of Andalusia. The prior Juan Perez, to whom Columbus had been so greatly indebted, resided in the neighbourhood of this place; he, by the influence of that good ecclesiastic, as well as by his own connexion with the inhabitants, not only raised among them what he wanted of the sum that he was bound by treaty to advance, but engaged several of them to accompany him in the voyage. The chief of these associates were three brothers of the name of Pinzon, of considerable wealth, and of great experience in naval affairs, who were willing to hazard their lives and fortunes in the enterprize.

But, notwithstanding all the endeavours and efforts of Isabella and Columbus, the armament was not suitable to the dignity of the nation by which it was equipped, or to the importance of the service for which it was destined. It consisted of three vessels only; the largest a ship of no considerable burden, was commanded by Columbus, as admiral, who gave it the name of Santa Maria, out of respect to the blessed virgin, whom he honoured with singular devotion. Of the second, called La Pinta, Martin Alonzo Pinzon was captain, and his brother Francis, pilot. The third, named La Nigna, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon: those two were hardly superior in burden and force to large boats. This squadron, if it merits the name, was victualled for twelve months, and had on board ninety men, mostly sailors, together with a few adventurers, who followed the fortune of Columbus, and some gentlemen of Isabella's court, whom she appointed to accompany him. Though the expense of the undertaking was one of the circumstances that chiefly alarmed the court of Spain, and retarded so long the negociations with Columbus, the sum employed in fitting out this squadron did not exceed four thousand pounds.

The art of ship building in the fifteenth century was extremely rude, and the bulk and construction of vessels were accommo-

dated to the short and easy voyages along the coast, which they were accustomed to perform. It is a proof of the genius and courage of Columbus, that he ventured with a fleet so unfit for a distant navigation, to explore unknown seas, where he had no chart to guide him, no knowledge of the tides and currents, and no experience of the dangers to which, in all probability, he would be exposed. His eagerness to accomplish his great design made him overlook every danger and difficulty. He pushed forward the preparations with such ardour, and was so well seconded by Isabella, that every thing was soon in readiness for the voyage.

But as Columbus was deeply impressed with a sense of the superintendence of divine Providence, over the affairs of this life, he would not set out upon this expedition without publicly imploring the protection of heaven. With this view, he, together with all the persons under his command, marched in solemn procession to the monastery of Rabida. After confessing their sins, and obtaining absolution, they received the sacrament from the hands of the prior, who joined his prayers to theirs for the success of an enterprize which he had so zealously patronized.

Next morning being the third day of August, in the year of our Lord 1492, the fleet sailed a little before sun rise. A vast crowd of spectators assembled on the shore, and sent up their supplications to heaven for the prosperous issue of their voyage, which they rather hoped than expected.

Columbus steered for the Canary islands, and arrived there without an occurrence worth remarking or that would have been taken notice of on any other occasion. But in this expedition every thing claimed attention. The rudder of *La Pinta* broke loose, the day after they left the harbour; the crew superstitious and unskilful, considered this as a bad omen. In this short run, the ships were found so crazy, as to be very unfit for a navigation which was expected to be long and dangerous. Columbus repaired them the best in his power; and after taking in a supply of fresh provisions, at Gomera, he took his departure on the sixth day of September. He immediately left the usual track of navigation, holding his course due west, and stretched into unfrequented seas. The calmness of the weather prevented them from making much progress the first day; but on the second he lost sight of land. The sailors dejected and dismayed at the boldness of the undertaking, beat their breasts, and shed tears, as if they were never again to see the land. Columbus, confident of success, comforted them with assurances of a happy issue of the voyage, and the prospect of vast wealth.

This pusillanimous spirit of the crew, taught Columbus that he should have to struggle with other difficulties besides what was natural for him to expect from the nature of the undertaking,



Fortunately for himself and for the country which employed him, to an ardent inventive genius, he joined other virtues but rarely united with them: he possessed a perfect knowledge of mankind, an insinuating address, a patient perseverance, in executing any plan, the full and entire government of his own passions, and the art of acquiring the direction of other men's.

These qualities which eminently formed him for command, were accompanied with that experience and knowledge in his profession, which begets confidence in times of difficulty and danger.

The Spanish sailors accustomed only to coasting voyages in the Mediterranean; the knowledge of Columbus, the fruit of thirty years experience, improved by the inventive skill of the Portuguese, appeared immense.

When they were at sea, he superintended the execution of every order; and allowing himself only a few hours for rest, he was almost constantly on deck. His course lying through seas not formerly visited; the sounding line or quadrant were seldom out of his hands. He attended to the motions of the tides and currents, watched the flight of birds, the appearances of fishes, of sea weeds and every thing that floated upon the water, entering every occurrence on his journal.

Expecting the length of the voyage would alarm the sailors, Columbus concealed from them the real progress which they made. He employed the artifice of reckoning short, during the whole voyage. The fourteenth of September, the fleet was above two hundred leagues to the west of the Canaries: the greatest distance from land that any Spaniard had been before that time.

But now they were struck with an appearance that was astonishing, because it was new. The magnetic needle did not point exactly to the Polar Star, but varied a degree towards the west; and as they proceeded, this variation increased. Although this is now familiar, it still remains one of the mysteries of nature into the cause of which the sagacity of man has not been able to penetrate, and filled the companions of Columbus with terror. They were now far from the usual course of navigation, nature itself seemed altered, and the only guide they had left, seemed to fail them. Columbus with admirable presence of mind, invented a plausible reason for this appearance, which had an effect to dispel their fears, or silence their murmurs. He still steered due west, nearly in the latitude of the Canaries. In this direction he came within the course of the trade winds which blow invariably from east to west.

He advanced before this steady gale with such rapidity, that it was seldom necessary to shift a sail.

About four hundred leagues west of the Canaries the sea was so covered with weeds that it resembled a meadow of vast extent,

and was in some places so thick as to impede the progress of the vessels. This was cause of fresh alarm: the seamen imagined this was the utmost boundary of the ocean; and that these floating weeds concealed dangerous rocks, or a large tract of land, which had sunk in that place. Columbus persuaded them that, instead of alarming, it ought rather to encourage them, to consider it as a sign of approaching land. At the same time a brisk gale sprung up, and carried them forwards. Several birds were seen hovering about the ship, and directing their flight towards the west. The despairing crew resumed some degree of spirit, and began to entertain fresh hopes.

Upon the first day of October they were advanced seven hundred and seventy leagues west of the Canaries; but he persuaded his men that he had only proceeded five hundred and eighty-four leagues; and fortunately for Columbus, neither his own pilot, nor those of the other ships could discover the deceit.

Three weeks had now elapsed and no land appeared, all their prognostics had proved fallacious, and their prospects of success were now as distant as ever. These reflections made strong impressions, at first, on the timid and ignorant, and extended, by degrees to those who were better informed, or more resolute. The contagion spread, at length, from ship, to ship. From secret whispers and murmurings, they proceeded to open cabals and loud complaints.

They charged their sovereign with foolish credulity, in relying on the vain promises and rash conjectures of an indigent foreigner. They affirmed that they had fully performed their duty, by venturing in a hopeless cause, and that they would be justifiable in refusing any longer to follow such a desperate adventurer to certain destruction. They contended that it was high time to think of returning to Spain, while their crazy vessels were still in a condition to keep the sea, but they feared the attempt would be impracticable, as the wind which hitherto had been favourable in their course, would make it impossible to sail in an opposite direction.

They all agreed that Columbus should be compelled by force to adopt a measure, on which their safety depended. Some were for throwing him overboard, and getting rid of his remonstrances, being persuaded that, upon their return to Spain, his death would excite little concern, and be inquired into with no curiosity. Columbus was not ignorant of his perilous situation; he saw that the disaffection of his crew was ready to burst forth into open mutiny. He affected to seem ignorant of all their designs, and appeared with a cheerful countenance like a man fully satisfied with the progress he had made, and confident of success. Sometimes he endeavoured to work upon their ambition and avarice, by magnificent descriptions of the fame and wealth which

they would in all probability acquire. On other occasions he assumed a tone of authority, and threatened them with vengeance from their sovereign, if by their cowardly behaviour, they should defeat the most noble effort to promote the glory of God and exalt the Spanish name over every other nation.

The words of a man, they were accustomed to obey and reverence, were weighty and persuasive. They not only restrained them from violent excesses, but prevailed with them to accompany their admiral some time longer.

As they advanced in their course, signs of approaching land were frequent. Birds appeared in flocks, and directed their flight towards the south west. In imitation of the Portuguese, who in their several discoveries were guided by the motion of birds, Columbus altered his course from due west, to that quarter whither they pursued their flight. Holding on in this direction several days, but with no better success than formerly, and having seen no land for thirty days their hopes subsided quicker than they had arisen; their fears revived with additional force; impatience, rage, and despair, were visible in every countenance. All subordination was lost; the officers had hitherto concurred in opinion with Columbus, but now took part with the men; they assembled and mixed threats with expostulations, and required him instantly to tack about, and return to Spain.

Columbus perceived it would be in vain to practise his former arts, or to endeavour to rekindle any zeal for the enterprize in men, in whose breasts fear had extinguished every noble sentiment. It was therefore necessary, to soothe passions, which it was impossible to command, and give way to a torrent too impetuous to be checked. He therefore solemnly promised them, that if they would continue to obey his commands, and accompany him three days longer, and if during that time, land were not discovered, he would then abandon the enterprize, and direct his course towards Spain.

This proposition did not appear to them unreasonable: enraged as they were, they yielded to the proposition. Columbus saw the presages of approaching land so numerous and certain, that he did not hazard much in confining himself to so short a term. For some days the sounding line reached the bottom, and the soil which it brought up was a strong indication that the land was at no great distance. The land birds which made their appearance, confirmed their hopes.

The crew of *La Pinta* observed a cane floating, which seemed to be newly cut, and likewise a piece of timber artificially carved. The sailors on board *La Nigna*, took up the branch of a tree with red berries, perfectly fresh. The air was more mild and warm, and the clouds around the setting sun assumed a new appearance.



Columbus was now so confident of being near land, that on the evening of the eleventh of October, after public prayers for success, he ordered the ships to lie by, and a strict watch kept, lest they should be driven on shore in the night. During this interval of suspense, and anxious expectation, no man closed his eyes: but all kept on deck looking intently towards that part from whence they supposed land would appear, which had been so long the object of their most anxious wishes.

About two hours before midnight Columbus, standing on the forecastle, observed a light at a distance, and privately pointed it out to Pedro Gutierrez, a page of the queen's wardrobe. Gutierrez perceived it, and called to Salcedo, comptroller of the fleet, all three saw it move from place to place. A little after midnight, the joyful sound of *Land! Land!* was heard from La Pinta, which always kept a-head of the other ships. Deceived so often by fallacious appearances, they were slow of belief, and waited in anxious suspense for the return of day.

When the morning dawned, all their doubts and fears were dispelled; they discovered an island about two leagues to the north, whose verdant fields and woods watered with many rivulets, presented to them the aspect of a delightful country.

The crew of La Pinta instantly began the *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God, and were joined by the crews of the other ships, with tears of joy, and transports of congratulation. This act of devotion, was followed by an act of justice to their commander: they fell at his feet with feelings of self-condemnation, inspired with reverence. They implored his pardon for their ignorance, incredulity, and insolence, which had created him so much unnecessary disquiet, and passing from one extreme to another, in the warmth of their imagination they now pronounced him, whom they had lately reviled and threatened, to be a person divinely inspired with sagacity and fortitude more than human, that could accomplish a design beyond the ideas and conceptions of all former ages.

When the sun arose, the boats were all manned and armed, with colours displayed, warlike music, and other martial pomp; they rowed towards the shore: as they approached, they saw a multitude of people, whose gestures expressed wonder and astonishment at the novel and strange objects which presented themselves to their view.

Columbus was the first European that set his foot on the new world. He landed in a rich dress, and, with a drawn sword in his hand. His men followed, with the royal standard displayed, and kneeling down, kissed the ground they had so long desired to see. They then erected a crucifix, and prostrating themselves before it, returned thanks to God, for thus conducting their voyage to so happy an issue.

They then, in a solemn manner, took possession of the country for the crown of Castile and Leon, with all the formalities usual with the Portuguese to observe in all their discoveries. While the Spaniards were thus employed, they were surrounded by the natives, who in silent admiration, gazed upon actions, the meaning of which they could not comprehend, or foresee the consequences.

The dress of the Spaniards, the whiteness of their skin, their beards, arms and accoutrements, appeared strange and surprising. The vast machines in which they traversed the ocean, that appeared to move upon the waters with wings uttering a dreadful sound, like thunder accompanied with lightning and smoke, filled them with terror, and inspired them with a belief that their new guests were a superior order of beings, concluding they were children of the sun, who had descended to visit the earth. The Spaniards were as much amazed at the scene before them. The trees, the shrubs, the herbage, were all different from those which were of European growth. The climate was warm, though extremely delightful. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked. Their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders, or was bound in tresses round their heads. They had no beards, and every part of their bodies was perfectly smooth, of a copper colour, their features not disagreeable, of a gentle and timid aspect. They were well shaped and active. Their faces and bodies were painted in a fantastical manner, with glaring colours. They appeared shy at first, but soon became familiar, and with transports of joy received glass beads and other baubles, in return for which they gave such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value they had to trade with.

In the evening Columbus returned to his ships in company with many of the islanders in their canoes, which they managed with surprising dexterity.

Every circumstance relating to this first interview, between the inhabitants of the old and new world was conducted with harmony and satisfaction. The former enlightened, and influenced by ambition, formed vast ideas respecting the future advantages that would likely accrue from the discovery. The latter, simple and unsuspecting, had no forethought of the calamities and desolation which were soon to overwhelm the country. Columbus, as admiral and viceroy, called the island San Salvador. It is nevertheless better known by the name of Guanahani, which the natives gave to it, and is one of the Bahama isles. It is situated above three thousand miles to the west of Gomera, from which the squadron took its departure, and only four degrees south of it. Columbus employed the first day in visiting the coast of the island, and from the general poverty of the



inhabitants, he was assured that this was not the rich country that he sought.

Having observed small plates of gold, which most of the people wore by way of ornament, pendent in their nostrils, he eagerly inquired where they found that precious metal. They pointed towards the south and south west, and made him comprehend by signs, that there was abundance of gold in countries situated in that quarter.

Animated with hope, he determined to direct his course thither, in full expectation of finding those wealthy regions which had been the main object of his voyage. With this view he again set sail, taking with him seven of the innocent natives, to serve as interpreters, who esteemed it a mark of distinction when they were selected to accompany him.

In his course he passed several islands, and touched at three of them which he called Mary, Ferdinand, and Isabella. But as the soil and inhabitants resembled those of San Salvador, he made no stay there. He inquired every where for gold, and was answered as before that it was brought from the south. Following that course he soon discovered a country of vast extent diversified with rising grounds—hills, rivers, woods and plains. He was uncertain whether it would prove an island or part of the continent. The natives he had on board called it Cuba; Columbus gave it the name of Juanna. He entered the mouth of a large river with his squadron, and the natives all fled to the mountains as he approached the shore.

Intending to careen his ships in that place, Columbus sent some Spaniards, together with one of the San Salvador Indians, to view the interior parts of the country.

Having advanced above sixty miles from the shore, they reported upon their return, that the soil was richer and more cultivated, than what they had already discovered; that besides scattered cottages, they had found one village, containing one thousand inhabitants; that the people, though naked, were more intelligent than those of San Salvador, but had treated them with the same respectful attention, kissing their feet, and honouring them as sacred beings allied to Heaven; that they gave them a certain root, which in taste resembled roasted chesnuts, and likewise a singular species of corn, called maize, that was very palatable; and that there seemed to be no four-footed animals, except a species of dogs that could not bark, and a creature resembling a rabbit, but smaller; that they had observed some ornaments of gold among the people, but of no great value.

Some of the natives accompanied these messengers; they informed Columbus as the others had done, that the gold he was so anxiously solicitous about, was to be found to the southward; often mentioning the word Cubanacan, by which they meant the

inland part of Cuba; Columbus ignorant of their pronunciation, and believing the country he had discovered, to be a part of the East Indies. Under the influence of this idea, he thought they spoke of the great Kahn, and imagined the opulent kingdom of Cathay was not very remote.

The natives as much astonished, at the eagerness of the Spaniards for gold, as the Europeans were at their ignorance and simplicity, pointed towards the east, where was an island called Hayti, in which that metal was more abundant. Columbus ordered his squadron to steer its course thither; but Martin Alonzo Pinzon, eager to be the first in taking possession of the rich treasure, which the island was supposed to contain, quitted his companions, and paid no regard to the admiral's signals to slacken sail, until they should come up with him. Retarded by contrary winds, Columbus did not reach Hayti, until the sixth of December. He called the port where he first landed St. Nicholas, and the island itself Espagnola, in honour of the kingdom by which he was employed; and it is the only country which he discovered, that still bears the name which he gave it.

As he could not have any intercourse with the inhabitants, who fled in great consternation, he soon left St. Nicholas, and sailed along the northern coast of the island: he entered another harbour which he called Conception. Here he was more fortunate; a woman who was flying from them was overtaken; and after treating her kindly, she was dismissed with presents of such toys as to an Indian were considered most valuable. When she returned to her countrymen with her imagination heated with what she had seen, she gave such a flattering description of the new comers; at the same time producing the trinkets she had received; that they were eager to partake of the same favours. Their fears being removed, many of them repaired to the harbour. Here their curiosity and wishes were amply gratified. They nearly resembled the other natives they had already seen, naked, ignorant, and simple, credulous and timid to a degree, which made it easy to acquire an ascendancy over them; they were led into the same error as the other inhabitants who believed them to be more than mortals, descended immediately from Heaven. They possessed gold in greater abundance than their neighbours, which they cheerfully parted with for bells, beads, or pins; and in this unequal traffic, both parties were highly pleased, each considering themselves as gainers by the transaction. A prince or cazique of the country made Columbus a visit at this place. He appeared in all the pomp of Indian magnificence: he was carried in a sort of palanquin by four men, and a numerous train of attendants, who approached him with respectful attention. His deportment was grave and stately: to his own people very reserved, but to the Spaniards open and extremely courteous. He gave the ad-

miral some thin plates of gold, and a girdle curiously wrought after the Indian fashion. Columbus in return, made him presents of small value to a European, but highly prized by the savage chief. Columbus's thoughts continually occupied with the prospect of discovering gold mines, interrogated all the natives he met with concerning their situation. All his interrogatives were answered by their pointing to a mountainous country which in their language was called Cibao, at some distance from the sea, towards the east. Struck with the name, he no longer doubted but that it was Cipango, a name by which Marco Polo distinguished the islands of Japan: which strengthened him in that erroneous opinion he had embraced, that the country he had discovered was a remote part of Asia.

In full confidence of the rectitude of his opinion, he directed his course towards the east. He put into a commodious harbour which he named St. Thomas: this part of the country was governed by a powerful cazique named Guacanahari, who was one of the five sovereigns among whom the whole island was divided. He immediately sent messengers to Columbus with a present of a mask of beaten gold, curiously fashioned, and invited him to his town near the harbour, now called cape François. Columbus returned the cazique's civilities by a deputation of some of his own people; who returned with such favourable accounts of the country and people, as made Columbus impatient for that interview which Guacanahari had desired.

For this purpose he sailed from St. Thomas on the twenty-fourth of December with a fair wind and smooth sea; and as he had not slept for two days, at midnight he retired to take some repose, committing the helm to the pilot, strictly enjoining him not to quit it for a moment. But he dreading no danger, incautiously gave the helm in charge to the cabin boy, and the ship was carried away by the current, and dashed against a rock. The violence of the concussion awakened Columbus. He immediately went upon deck, and there he found all was confusion and despair. He alone retained presence of mind. He immediately ordered some sailors to take a boat and carry out an anchor astern; but they, instead of complying with the orders of their admiral, made off to La Nigua, about half a league distant. He then commanded the masts to be cut down, but all his endeavours were too late; the vessel filled so fast with water, that it was impossible to save her. The smoothness of the sea, and the timely assistance from La Nigua, enabled the crew to save their lives. The natives as soon as they heard of this disaster, crowded to the shore with Guacanahari at their head, and lamented their misfortune with tears of sincere condolence. But they did not rest satisfied with this unavailing expression of their sorrow: they launched a vast number of canoes, and under



the direction of Spaniards rendered important services, in saving the property out of the wreck; Guacanahari in person took charge of the goods as they were landed; and by his orders were all deposited in one place, and posted sentinels to keep the multitude at a distance.

Next morning this prince visited Columbus, who was on board of *La Nigna*, and in the warmth of affection offered all he had to repair his loss. Such tender assiduity and sincere condolence in a savage, afforded Columbus that relief his agitated spirits stood in need of. Columbus hitherto had heard no account of *La Pinta*, and suspected not without cause, that his treacherous associate had set sail for Europe, that he might claim the merit of carrying the first tidings of the discoveries to Spain, and so far gain the attention of his sovereign as to rob Columbus of the glory and reward to which he was justly entitled. But one vessel now remained, and that the smallest and most crazy of the squadron: in which they were compelled to traverse a vast ocean, with so many men, back to Europe.

To remedy this last inconvenience, he proposed to his men the great advantages that would accrue by leaving some of them on the island, to learn the language of the natives, study their disposition, examine the country, search for mines, and prepare for the commodious settlement of the colony, for which he proposed to return, and secure those advantages which it was reasonable to expect from his discoveries. To this proposal all his men assented, and many offered voluntarily to remain behind. Guacanahari was pleased with the proposition, as he conceived that with such powerful allies, he should be able to repel the attacks of a warlike and fierce people he called Caribbeans, who sometimes invaded his dominions, delighted in blood, and devoured the flesh of the prisoners, who unhappily fell into their hands. Guacanahari, as he was speaking of these dreadful invaders, discovered such symptoms of terror, as well as consciousness of the inability of his own people to resist them, that led Columbus to believe such a proposal would be very agreeable. Guacanahari, closed instantly with the proposal, and thought himself safe under the protection of beings sprung from heaven, and superior in power to mortal men.

The ground was marked out for a small fort, which was called, by Columbus, *Navidad*, because it was Christmas-day when he landed there. A deep ditch was drawn around it: the ramparts were fortified, and the great guns saved out of the admiral's ship were planted upon them. In ten days the work was completed; the simple unsuspecting Indians, laboured with inconsiderate assiduity, in erecting this first monument of their own servitude. The high opinion the natives had of the Spaniards, was increased by the caresses and liberality of Columbus.

but while he wished to inspire them with confidence in their disposition to do good, he also wished to give them some striking idea of their power to punish and destroy such as provoked their just indignation. With this view, he drew up his men in order of battle, in view of a vast concourse of people, and made an ostentatious display of the force of the Spanish arms.

These rude people, strangers to any hostile weapons, but wooden swords, javelins hardened in the fire, and reeds pointed with the bones of fishes, admired and trembled, but the sudden explosion of the great guns, struck them with such terror and astonishment, that they fell flat to the ground, and covered their faces with their hands: and when they beheld the effects of the balls, they were persuaded that it was impossible to resist men who came armed with thunder and lightning against their enemies. After giving such powerful impressions of the power and beneficence of the Spaniards, Columbus chose out thirty-eight of his people to remain on the island. The command of these was given to Diego de Arada, a gentleman of Cordova; Columbus investing him with the same powers which he had himself received from his royal patrons, after furnishing him with every thing requisite for this infant colony. He strongly insisted on their preserving concord amongst themselves, a prompt and ready obedience to their commander, and the maintenance of a friendly intercourse with the natives, as the surest means of their preservation. That they should cultivate the friendship of Guacanahari, but not put themselves in his power by straggling in small parties from the fort. He then took his leave, after promising to revisit them soon with a reinforcement sufficient to take full possession of the country. He further promised to place their merit in a conspicuous light to the king and queen.

Having thus taken every precaution to secure the colony, he left Navidad the fourth day of January, 1493. and steering towards the east, on the sixth he discovered La Pinta, after a separation of more than six weeks. Pinzon endeavoured to justify his conduct, pretending he had been driven from his course by stress of weather, and prevented from returning by contrary winds. Columbus, though no stranger to his perfidious intentions, as well as the falsehood he urged in his defence, was so sensible that it was not a proper time for exerting his authority, and was so pleased with joining his consort, as it delivered him from some uneasy apprehensions, that he admitted the apology without difficulty, and restored him to favour. Columbus now found it necessary, from the eagerness which his men showed to visit their native country, and the crazy condition of his ships, to hasten his return to Europe.

With this view, on the sixteenth of January, he directed his course to the north-east, and was soon out of sight of his newly



discovered country. He had some of the natives, whom he had taken from the different islands, on board ; and besides the gold, which was the principal object of research, he had specimens of all the productions which were likely to become subjects of commerce, as well as many strange birds and other natural curiosities, which might attract the attention, and excite the wonder of the people.

The voyage was prosperous to the fourteenth of February, at which time they had advanced five hundred leagues, when the wind began to rise, and blow with increasing rage, till it terminated in a violent hurricane. Columbus's naval skill and experience was severely put to the proof ; destruction seemed inevitable ; the sailors had recourse to prayers, and to the invocation of saints, to vows and charms, to every thing that religion or superstition suggests to the affrighted mind. No prospect of deliverance appearing, despair was visible in every countenance, and they expected every moment to be swallowed up by the waves. Columbus had to endure feelings peculiar to himself. He dreaded that all the knowledge of his discoveries would be lost to the world, and that his name would descend to posterity as that of a rash deluded adventurer, instead of being transmitted with the honour due to the author and conductor of the noblest enterprize that had ever been undertaken. Reflections like these extinguished all sense of his own personal danger. More solicitous to preserve the memory of what he had achieved, than the preservation of his own life, he retired to his cabin, and wrote upon parchment a short account of the voyage he had made, the course he had taken, and of the riches and situation of the country he had discovered, and of the small colony he had left there.

Having wrapped this up in an oiled cloth, which he enclosed in a cake of wax, he then carefully put it into a cask, effectually stopping it to keep out the water, he threw it into the sea, in hopes that some fortunate accident might preserve a deposit of so much importance to the world. Providence at length interposed to save so valuable a life. The wind abated, the sea became calm, and on the evening of the fifteenth they discovered land, which they soon knew to be St. Mary, one of the Azores, or Western Islands, subject to the crown of Portugal. There he obtained a supply of provisions, and such other things as he had need of. There was one circumstance that greatly disquieted him : La Pinta had separated from him during the hurricane ; he was apprehensive that she had foundered, and that all her crew had perished : afterwards, his former suspicions revived, that Pinzon had borne away for Spain, that he might reach it before him, and give the first account of his discoveries. In

order to prevent this he proceeded on his voyage as soon as the weather would permit.

At no great distance from the coast of Spain, another storm arose little inferior to the former in violence; and after driving before it during two days and two nights, he was forced to take shelter in the river Tagus. Upon application to the king of Portugal, he was allowed to come up to Lisbon; Columbus was received with all the marks of distinction due to a man who had performed things so extraordinary and unexpected. The king admitted him into his presence, treated him with great respect, and listened to the account he gave of his voyage, with admiration mingled with regret.

Columbus was now able to prove the solidity of his schemes, to those very persons, who with an ignorance disgraceful to themselves, and fatal to their country, had lately rejected them as the projects of a visionary adventurer. Columbus was so impatient to return to Spain, that he remained only five days at Lisbon, and on the fifteenth of March, he arrived at the port of Palos, just seven months and eleven days, from the time he set out from thence upon his voyage. The inhabitants all ran eagerly to the shore to welcome their relations, and fellow-citizens, and to hear tidings of their voyage.

When the successful issue of it was known, when they beheld the strange appearance of the Indians, the unknown animals, and singular productions, of the newly discovered countries, the effusion of joy was unbounded. The bells were rung, the cannon fired; Columbus was received at landing with royal honours, and all the people accompanied him and his crew, in solemn procession, to church, where they returned thanks to heaven, which had so wonderfully conducted, and crowned with success, a voyage of greater length, and of more importance, than had been attempted in any former age. To add to the general joy *La Pinta*, on the evening of the day entered the harbour. Ferdinand and Isabella were at Barcelona, they were no less astonished than delighted with the unexpected event: sent a messenger requesting him in terms the most respectful, to repair immediately to court, that from himself they might receive a full detail of his extraordinary services and discoveries.

During his journey to Barcelona, the people flocked from the adjacent country, following him with admiration and applause. His entrance into the city, was conducted, by order of Ferdinand and Isabella with extreme pomp, suitable to the great event which added such distinguishing lustre to their reign. The people whom he brought along with him, the natives of the countries he had discovered, marched first, and by their singular complexion, the wild peculiarities of their features, and uncouth finery, appeared like men of another species. Next to them were

carried the ornaments of gold, fashioned by the rude art of the natives, grains of gold found in the mountains and rivers; after these appeared the various commodities of the new world and its curious productions: Columbus closed the procession and attracted the eyes of all the spectators, who could not sufficiently admire the man whose superior sagacity and fortitude, had conducted their countrymen by a route unknown to past ages, to the knowledge of a new country, abounding with riches, and fertile as the best cultivated lands in Spain.

Ferdinand and Isabella received him in their royal robes, seated upon a throne under a magnificent canopy. They stood up as he approached, and raised him as he kneeled to kiss their hands. He then took his seat on a chair prepared for him, and by their majesties' orders, gave a circumstantial account of his voyage. He delivered it with that composure and dignity, so suitable to the Spanish nation, and with that modest simplicity so characteristic of great minds, that satisfied with having performed great actions, seeks not an ostentatious display of words to set them forth. When his narration was finished, the king and queen kneeled down and offered up thanks to Almighty God, for the discovery of those new regions, from which they expected so many advantages to flow into the kingdoms, subject to their government.

Columbus was invested with every mark of honour, that gratitude or admiration could suggest, confirming to him and his heirs the agreement made at Santa Fé. His family was enobled, the king and queen and the whole court treated him on every occasion with all the ceremonious respect, usually paid to persons of the highest rank. An order was immediately made to equip without delay, an armament of such force, as might enable him to take possession of those countries which he had already discovered, as well as to search for those more opulent regions, which he still confidently expected to find. Columbus's fame now quickly spread over Europe, his successful voyage had excited general attention.

Men of science spoke of it with rapture, and congratulated one another upon their felicity, in having lived at a period when the boundaries of human knowledge, were so much extended.

Various opinions were formed, concerning the new found countries, and what division of the earth they belonged to. Columbus erroneously and tenaciously adhered to his original idea, that they were part of those vast regions of Asia, comprehended under the general name of India: this sentiment gained strength from the productions of the countries he had discovered. Gold was known to abound in India, of which precious metal he had brought some samples from the islands he had visited.

Cotton, another production of the east, was common there,



The Pimento of the islands, he imagined to be a species of the East India pepper. He mistook a root somewhat resembling rhubarb, for that valuable drug, which was then supposed to be a plant peculiar to the East Indies: the birds were adorned with the same rich plumage, that distinguishes those of India. The alligator of the one country, was considered as the crocodile of the other. After weighing all these circumstances, the different nations of Europe adopted the opinion of Columbus; they considered the countries he had discovered, as a part of India.

The name of West Indies, was therefore given to them, by Ferdinand and Isabella even after the error was detected, and the true position of the new world known: the name still remains, and the appellation of West Indies is given by all the people of Europe to the country, and that of Indians to its inhabitants.

The specimens of riches and the productions of the new country which Columbus produced were so alluring; and the exaggerated accounts of his companions (so natural to travellers) excited a wonderful spirit of enterprize among the Spaniards. Though unaccustomed to naval expeditions, they were eager to set out upon another voyage. Volunteers of all ranks were anxiously solicitous to be employed. The vast prospect which opened to their imagination, flattered their ambition and their avarice: neither the danger, nor length of the navigation intimidated them. Ferdinand's natural caution gave way to the torrent of public opinion: he seemed to have caught the same spirit with his subjects.

Another expedition was carried on with a rapidity unusual to the Spaniards. A fleet consisting of seventeen ships was equipped: some of which were of good burden: they had on board fifteen hundred persons, among whom were many of noble families, who had served in honourable stations. Most of these intending to remain in the country, were furnished with every thing necessary for conquest or settlement, with all kinds of domestic animals, and also seeds and plants, that were likely to thrive in the climate of the West Indies, together with such utensils as might be useful in an infant colony: and artificers were engaged to attend the expedition.

But formidable and well provided as the fleet was, Ferdinand and Isabella, (slaves to the superstition of the fourteenth century) were not willing to rest their title to the possession of the newly discovered countries until they applied to the Roman pontiff, who in that age was supposed to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth.

Alexander VI, a pontiff, infamous for every crime that disgraces humanity, filled the papal throne at that time; as he was born Ferdinand's subject, and solicitous to procure that monarch's



protection, in prosecuting his ambitious schemes, in favour of his own family, he instantly complied with his request. By an act of liberality which cost him nothing, he bestowed upon Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries inhabited by infidels which they had discovered, or should discover. And by virtue of that power which he pretended he derived from Jesus Christ, he vested in the Crown of Castile a right to vast regions, to the possession of which he was so far from having any title, that he was unacquainted with their situation, and even with their existence; but that this grant should not seem to interfere with one he had made to the crown of Portugal, he appointed that a line supposed to be drawn from pole to pole one hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores should serve as a limit between them: and in the plenitude of his power, conferred all on the east of this imaginary line to the Portuguese, and all on the west of it upon the Spaniards. Zeal for propagating the Christian faith was the consideration employed by Ferdinand in soliciting this Bull, and pretended by Alexander to be his chief motive for granting it. Several friars, under the direction of Father Boyle, a Catalonian monk of great reputation, as apostolical vicar, were appointed to accompany Columbus in this second expedition, who were to devote themselves to the instruction and conversion of the natives. Those who came over with Columbus, after being imperfectly instructed in the Christian knowledge, were baptized with great solemnity: the king himself, his son, and the chief persons of his court, standing as their sponsors.

Ferdinand and Isabella having now acquired a title, which in that age was deemed completely valid, there was nothing now retarded the departure of the fleet. Columbus was impatient to revisit the colony he had left, and pursue that career of glory, upon which he had entered. He set sail from the bay of Cadiz on the twenty-fifth day of September, 1493, and steered farther towards the south than in the first expedition: by which he enjoyed more steadily the benefit of the regular winds, which predominate between the tropics, and was carried towards a large cluster of Islands, situated considerably to the east of those which he had formerly discovered.

On the second of November he made land, it was one of the Caribee or Leeward islands, to which he gave the name of Desada, on account of the impatience of his crew to discover some part of the New World. After this he touched successively at Dominica, Marigalante, Guadaloupe, Antigua, St. John de Porto Rico, and several other islands as he advanced towards the northwest. All these he found inhabited by that fierce race of people, whom Guacanahari had represented in such frightful colours. From them the Spaniards met with such a reception as convinced them of their martial and daring spirit; and they

found in their habitations the relics of those horrid feasts, which they had made upon the bodies of their enemies taken in war. Columbus, eager to know the state of the colony he had left, proceeded directly to Hispaniola. When he arrived off Navidad, where he had left the thirty-eight men under the command of Arada, he was astonished that none of them appeared; and expected every moment to see them running with transports of joy to welcome their countrymen.

Foreboding in his mind what had befallen them, he rowed instantly to land. All the natives from whom he might have received information, fled at his approach. The fort which he had built was demolished, and the tattered garments, the broken arms and utensils scattered about it, left no room to doubt concerning the unhappy fate of the garrison.

While the Spaniards were lamenting over the sad memorials of their countrymen, a brother of the cazique Guacanahari arrived, who gave Columbus a particular detail of what had happened after his departure from the island. The conduct of the Spaniards, and their familiar intercourse with the Indians, tended to diminish that veneration with which they at first inspired them.

As soon as the powerful restraints, which the presence and authority of Columbus imposed was withdrawn, the garrison threw off all subordination to the officer whom he had left in command. They roamed as freebooters through the country; the gold, the women, the provisions, were all the prey of these licentious oppressors: they extended their rapacity to every corner of the island. Gentle and timid as the inhabitants were, unprovoked injuries at length roused their courage.

The cazique of Cibao, whose territories the Spaniards chiefly infested, on account of the gold which they contained, surprised and cut off several straggling parties. He next assembled his subjects, surrounded the fort, and set it on fire. Some of the Spaniards were killed in defending it, the rest perished in attempting to escape, by crossing an arm of the sea. Guacanahari, who still retained his affection for the Spaniards, took up arms in their defence, and received a wound, by which he was still confined.

Columbus, although he entertained some suspicions of the fidelity of Guacanahari, yet he considered that this was not a proper time to inquire into his conduct: he, therefore, rejected the advice of several of his officers, who urged him to seize the person of that prince, and revenge the death of their countrymen by attacking his subjects. He considered it necessary to secure the friendship of some potentate of the country, in order to facilitate the settlement which he intended. Therefore, in order to prevent any future injury, he made choice of a more

healthy situation than that of Navidad. He traced out the plan of a town in a large plain before a spacious bay, and made every person put his hand to work on which their common safety depended: the houses and ramparts were soon so far advanced by their united labour, as to afford them shelter and security.

This being the first city founded in the new world, by the Europeans, Columbus named it Isabella, in honour of his patroness, the queen of Castile. Columbus had to sustain all the hardships in carrying on this necessary work, and encounter all the difficulties to which infant colonies are exposed, when they settle in an uncultivated country: he had also to contend with what was more difficult and insuperable, the laziness, the impatience, and the mutinous disposition of his followers. The natural inactivity of the Spaniards, seemed to increase under the enervating influence of a hot climate. Some of them were gentlemen unused to bodily fatigue; they had engaged in the enterprize with the sanguine hopes, excited by the splendid and exaggerated accounts, of those who had returned with Columbus from his first voyage, conceiving that it was either the Cipango of Marco Polo, or the Ophir from whence Solomon imported those precious commodities, which suddenly diffused such immense riches through his kingdom.

But when instead of that golden harvest, which they expected to reap without much toil or pains, they found their prospect of wealth was remote and uncertain: and, if attained, it must be by slow and persevering efforts of industry; the disappointment of their hopes occasioned such dejection of mind, as led to general discontent. In vain did Columbus endeavour to revive their spirits by expatiating on the fertility of the soil, and displaying the specimens of gold daily brought in from the different parts of the island. Their patience was too much exhausted to wait the gradual returns of the former, and they despised the latter as scanty and inconsiderable.

A conspiracy was formed, which threatened fatal consequences to Columbus, and the colony. Fortunately he discovered it, and seized the ringleaders; some of them he punished, and sent the others prisoners to Spain; with these he sent twelve ships, which had served as transports, with an earnest request for a reinforcement of men, and a large supply of provisions.

That the people might not have leisure to brood over their disappointments, and nourish a spirit of discontent, he sent them on several expeditions into the interior part of the country. One detachment he sent under the command of Alonzo de Ojeda, an enterprising officer, to visit the district of Cibao, which was said to yield the greatest quantity of gold; and followed himself with the main body of the troops. He displayed in this expedition, all the pomp of military parade, in order to strike the ima-



gination of the natives: he marched with colours flying, martial music and a small body of cavalry, that sometimes appeared in front and sometimes in the rear. The horses were objects of terror, no less than admiration, to the Indians, who were unacquainted with that vast accession of power, which man had acquired by subjecting them to his dominion. They considered them as one animal with their riders: they were astonished at their speed, and deemed their strength and impetuosity irresistible.

Notwithstanding this display of power, wisely intended to inspire the natives with a high idea of the strength of the Spaniards, Columbus did not neglect the art of gaining their love and confidence. He adhered strictly to the principles of integrity and justice, in all his transactions with them, and treated them on every occasion, with humanity and indulgence.

The district of Cibao was mountainous and uncultivated: in every brook and river gold was gathered, either in dust or grains; some of which were of considerable size. The Indians had never penetrated into the bowels of the earth, in search of gold; they had neither capacity nor inclination to refine the rude ore; these were operations too complicated for their talents or industry: neither did they wish to put their ingenuity and invention upon the stretch, in order to obtain it.

The Spaniards, however, no longer doubted that the country contained rich treasures in its bowels, of which they soon expected to be masters. The account of these promising appearances of wealth, in the country of Cibao, comforted the desponding colony, which was afflicted with distresses of various kinds. Provisions became scarce, and what remained was corrupted by the heat and humidity of the climate, so as to render it unfit for use. The ground the natives cultivated, was insufficient for their own subsistence, and the Spaniards had neither time nor leisure, to reap any considerable fruits from their own industry.

They now became afraid of perishing with hunger, and were reduced to live at short allowance. Diseases prevalent in the torrid zone, began to spread amongst them; alarmed at their violence and unusual symptoms, they exclaimed against Columbus and the companions of his former voyage, who, by their exaggerated descriptions of Hispaniola, had allured them from their native country, to settle in a barbarous uncultivated land, to die either by famine or of unknown distempers. These complaints came not only from the common people, but several officers and persons of note, joined in these seditious complaints: father Boyle, the apostolic vicar, was one of the most turbulent and outrageous. It required all the authority and address of Columbus, to re-establish order and tranquility in the colony. But the prospect of wealth, from the mines of Cibao, contributed to



soothe the malecontents, which they hoped would be a recompense for all their sufferings, and efface the memory of past disappointments. When concord and order, were in a good degree established, Columbus resolved to pursue his discoveries, that he might be able to ascertain whether those new countries with which he had opened a communication, were connected with any region of the earth already known, or whether they were to be considered as a separate part of the globe, hitherto unvisited.

He appointed his brother, Don Diego Columbus and a council of officers, to assist to govern the island in his absence. To Don Pedro Margarita, he gave the command of a body of troops, with whom he was to visit the different parts of the island, and endeavour to establish the authority of the Spaniards. Having left them particular instructions with respect to their conduct, he weighed anchor the twenty-fourth of April, taking with him one ship and two small vessels.

During this voyage, he experienced all the hardships to which persons of his profession are commonly exposed, and notwithstanding he was out five months, made no additional discovery, except the island of Jamaica, which appeared beautiful in the extreme. As he sailed on this unknown course, he was entangled among rocks and shelves, retarded by contrary winds, assaulted by furious storms, and with terrible thunder and lightning, which is almost incessant, between the tropics. To add to his distress, his provisions fell short. His crew exhausted with fatigue and hunger, murmured and threatened: and were ready to proceed to the most desperate extremities against him.

Danger appearing in various forms, kept him on continual watch; to issue every order, and superintend the execution of it. At no time were his skill and experience more severely tried; to these the squadron owed its safety. Though naturally of a vigorous and robust constitution, such unremitted fatigue of body, and intense application of mind, brought on a pestilential fever, terminating in a lethargy, which considerably impaired his reason and his memory, and nearly deprived him of his life. In this dilemma, the crew determined to return with all possible haste to Isabella, which they effected in five days: Columbus recovered his senses, on the abating of the fever, but he remained a considerable time in a feeble state. Here, to his inexpressible joy, he found his brother Bartholomew, which greatly contributed to his recovery. It was now thirteen years, since the two brothers had separated, and during that space had no intercourse with each other.

Bartholomew, after concluding his negotiation at the court of England, had set out for Spain, by the way of France. At Paris he first received the account of the discoveries his brother had made, in his first voyage, and that he was preparing to embark

on a second expedition. This intelligence made him pursue his journey with the utmost despatch : but Columbus had sailed before he reached Spain.

Ferdinand and Isabella received him, with the respect due to the brother of a man, whose services and merit had rendered him so conspicuous : and as they knew what consolation it would afford Columbus, they persuaded him to take the command of three ships, which they had appointed to carry provisions to the new colony.

Columbus never stood more in need of such a friend to assist him, with his counsel, or of dividing with him the cares of government. For although the provisions, now brought from Europe, proved a temporary relief, from the calamities of famine, the quantity was too small to last them long, and the produce of the island was insufficient to support them. They were also threatened with a danger more formidable than the return of scarcity : and which demanded more immediate attention.

When Columbus was absent from the island, on this last expedition, the soldiers under the command of Margarita, contemned all subordination, but dispersed in straggling parties over the island, lived at discretion on the natives, wasted their provisions, seized their women, and treated those inoffensive people, with all the insolence of military oppression. While the Indians retained any hopes of their sufferings coming to an end, by the voluntary departure of their invaders they submitted in silence, and dissembled their indignation : but, now that they discovered the yoke would be as permanent as it was intolerable ; self preservation, prompted them to assume courage, and attack their oppressors with united force, and drive them from the settlements, of which they had violently taken possession. Such were the sentiments, which universally prevailed amongst the Indians, when Columbus returned to Isabella, from his last expedition.

Inflamed, and justly irritated, by the outrages of the Spaniards, with a degree of rage, of which their gentle natures seemed hardly susceptible, they waited only for a signal from their leaders, to fall upon the colony. Some of the caziques had already surprised, and cut off several stragglers. The dread of impending danger united the Spaniards, and re-established the authority of Columbus, as they saw no prospect of safety, but in committing themselves to his prudent guidance.

It was now become necessary, to have recourse to arms ; an event, Columbus had anxiously wished to avoid. The vast superiority of the natives in number, compensated in a great measure their want of fire arms ; one unforeseen event, might have proved fatal to the Spaniards. Conscious that success depended on the rapidity and vigour of his operations, Columbus instantly assembled his forces, which were reduced to a very small num-

ber, two hundred foot, twenty horse, and as many large dogs, were all the force he could muster, against (agreeable to the Spanish accounts,) one hundred thousand Indians. Although it may seem strange, to mention dogs as composing part of a military force, they were perhaps, as formidable and destructive as so many men in arms, when employed against naked and timid Indians.

All the caziques of the island, (Guacanahari excepted, who still retained an inviolable attachment to the Spaniards,) were in arms to oppose Columbus. Instead of attempting to draw the Spaniards into the woods and mountains, they were so imprudent, as to take their station in the most open plain in the country. Columbus did not allow them time to perceive their mistake, or to alter their position. He attacked them during the night, and obtained an easy and bloodless victory.

The noise and havoc made by the fire arms; the impetuous force of the cavalry, and the fierce onset of the dogs, was so great that the Indians were filled with consternation: they threw down their arms, and fled without making any resistance: many of them were slain, more were taken prisoners, and reduced to slavery. From that moment they abandoned themselves to despair, and relinquished all thoughts of contending with aggressors, whom they deemed invincible. Humanity must lament the sad reverse of that unhappy race, who had enjoyed the free and unmolested enjoyment of their native woods; their wants were supplied by the spontaneous productions of the earth; but now a race unknown had invaded their country, and forced them to submit to exactions unthought of, and arbitrary impositions, which they were by no means enabled to comply with, consistent with their ideas of perfect liberty.

Columbus employed several months in the year 1495, in marching through the island, and in subjecting it to the Spanish government without meeting with any opposition. He imposed a tax upon all the inhabitants above the age of fourteen: each person who resided in the district where gold was to be found, was obliged to pay quarterly as much gold dust as would fill a hawk's bill; from others, twenty-five pounds of cotton were demanded. This served as a precedent for exactions still more oppressive. Contrary as these exactions were to the maxims which Columbus had hitherto inculcated, yet the intrigues carried on at the court of Spain at this juncture, with the manifest design to undermine his power, and discredit his operations, constrained him to depart from his own system of administration.

Several unfavourable accounts of his conduct, as well as the countries, discovered by him, had been transmitted to Spain. Margarita and Father Boyle were at court, and in order to gratify their resentment, watched with malevolent attention for oppor-



tunities to spread insinuations to his disadvantage. Several others about the court viewed his growing reputation with envious eyes. Fonseca, the archdeacon of Seville, who was intrusted with the chief direction of Indian affairs, for some reasons not made public, listened with impartiality to every invective.

It was not easy for an unfriended stranger, unpractised in the courtly arts, to counteract the machinations of such powerful enemies. There remained but one method to support his credit, and silence his enemies, he must produce such a quantity of gold, as would justify his reports, with respect to the richness of the country; the necessity of obtaining it, forced him not only to impose this heavy tax upon the Indians, but to exact payment of it with extreme rigour; and furnished him with a plausible excuse for departing from that mildness and humanity, with which he had uniformly treated that unhappy people.

This imposition appeared the most intollerable of all evils; accustomed to pass their days in a careless manner, this restraint upon their liberty was so grievous, that they had recourse to an expedient to deliver themselves from a yoke, imposed upon them by a handful of strangers; to whom they were under no obligations.

Their impatience and despair prompted them to fall upon an expedient, which to them appeared an infallible method to rid them of their troublesome neighbours. They agreed to suspend all agricultural operations, and from the voracious appetites of the Spaniards, concluded the execution of it very practicable.

They pulled up the Manioc roots that were planted, and planted no Maize; and retired to the most inaccessible parts of the woods, leaving the uncultivated plains to their enemies.

This desperate resolution produced some of the effects intended; the Spaniards were reduced to great want; but they received some seasonable supplies from Europe, and found so many resources in their own ingenuity and industry, that they suffered no great loss of men.

The Indians were the greatest sufferers by this ill concerted policy. Shut up among barren mountains, without any food but the wild productions of the earth, distressed by famine, contagious diseases were the consequence; and in the course of a few months, more than a third part of the inhabitants perished.

Columbus now began to have serious thoughts of returning to Spain. His enemies at court had gained considerable influence: they represented his prudent care to preserve discipline and subordination, as excess of rigour; the punishments he inflicted upon the mutinous and disorderly, were imputed to cruelty; and he was represented as inconsiderately ambitious; these accusations obtained such credit in a jealous court, that a commissioner was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, to inspect into the conduct of Columbus.

By the influence of his enemies, Aguado, a groom of the bed chamber, was made choice of, upon this occasion; a man whose capacity was by no means fit for the station. Puffed up with such sudden and unexpected elevation, Aguado displayed all that frivolous self-importance and insolence, natural to little minds, in the exercise of his office. He listened with eagerness to every accusation against Columbus, and encouraged, not only the evil disposed among the Spaniards, but also the Indians; by which partial conduct he fomented jealousies and dissensions in the colony, without establishing any regulations for the public good: and while he wished to load the administration of the admiral with disgrace, placed an indelible stain upon his own.

Columbus sensibly felt how humiliating his situation must be, if he remained under the controul of such a partial inspector. He therefore took the resolution of returning to Spain, in order to give a full account of his transactions, with respect to the points in dispute between him and his adversaries, before Ferdinand and Isabella. He committed the administration of his affairs during his absence to his Brother Don Bartholomew, with the title of Adelantado, or lieutenant governor; and Francis Roldan chief justice, with very extensive powers.

In returning to Europe, Columbus held a different course to what he had taken in his former voyage. He steered almost due east from Hispaniola in the parallel of twenty-two degrees of latitude; as he was unacquainted with the more expeditious method of stretching to the north, whereby he would have fallen in with the south-west winds. By which mistake he was exposed to very great fatigue and danger; and had to struggle with the trade winds which blow without variation from the east, between the tropics.

He nevertheless persisted in his course with his usual patience and firmness, but made so little way, that he was three months before he came within sight of land. Provisions at last began to fail; they were reduced to the allowance of six ounces of bread a day for each person: the admiral faring no better than the meanest sailor.

In this extreme distress he retained that humanity which distinguished his character; and refused to comply with the pressing solicitations of his crew to feed upon the Indian prisoners, whom they were carrying over: others insisted that they should be thrown overboard, in order to lessen the consumption of provisions. He objected to their destruction, alledging that they were human beings, reduced to the same calamities with themselves and entitled to share an equal fate. These arguments backed by his authority, dissipated those wild ideas suggested by despair: soon after, they came in sight of Spain, and all their troubles and fears vanished.

Columbus, conscious of his own integrity, appeared at court with that determined confidence, which those who have performed great actions, will always assume. Ferdinand and Isabella ashamed of lending too favourable an ear to frivolous and ill founded accusations, received him with such distinguished marks of respect, as overwhelmed his enemies with shame. Their calumny and censures were not heard at that juncture.

The gold, the pearls, the cotton, and other rich commodities which Columbus produced, seemed fully to refute the stories the malecontents had propagated with respect to the poverty of the country. By reducing the Indians to obedience and imposing a regular tax upon them, he had secured to Spain a large accession of new subjects, and a revenue that promised much. By the mines which he had found out and examined, a source of wealth was still more copiously opened.

Columbus represented these only as preludes to future and much larger acquisitions, and as an earnest of more important discoveries. The attentive consideration of all these circumstances made such an impression upon Ferdinand and Isabella, that they resolved to supply the colony with every thing necessary to render it a permanent establishment, and to furnish Columbus with such a fleet, that he might proceed to make such discoveries as he meditated.

A plan was now formed of a regular colony, that might serve as a model for all future establishments. Every particular was considered with attention, and arranged with scrupulous accuracy. The exact number of adventurers who should be permitted to embark was fixed : these were to be of different ranks and professions ; and the proportion of each was established, according to their usefulness and benefit to the colony. A proper number of women were chosen to accompany these new settlers.

As a want of provision had occasioned great distress in the colony, a number of husbandmen were to be carried over. As they had formed and entertained the most sanguine hopes with respect to the riches contained in the mines, a number of artists were engaged who were skilful in refining the precious metals ; who were to receive pay from the government for a number of years.

Thus far the regulations were well adapted to the end in view ; but as it was foreseen that few would engage to embark to settle in a country that had proved so fatal to many of their countrymen, Columbus proposed to employ such convicts and malefactors who were convicted of crimes, which, though capital, were of a less atrocious nature ; and instead of sending them to the gallies, they should be condemned to labour in the mines which were to be opened. This advice was inconsiderately adopted ; the prisons were drained to collect members for the intended colony ; and the judges were instructed to recruit it by their future



sentences. But they were not aware that such corrupt members would poison the body politic, and be productive of violent and unhappy effects.

This the Spaniards fatally experienced, and other European powers imitated their practice, from which pernicious consequences have followed, and can be imputed to no other cause.

Columbus easily obtained the royal approbation to every measure and regulation he proposed: but his endeavours to carry them into execution, were long retarded, and must have tired out any man of less patience than himself. Those delays were occasioned, partly by that tedious procrastination, so natural to the Spaniards; partly by the exhausted state of the treasury, which at that time was drained by the celebration of the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella's only son, with Margaret of Austria; and that of Joanna, their daughter, with Philip of Austria: but the chief source of all these delays, must principally be imputed to the malice of his enemies.

These, astonished at the reception Columbus had met with, and overawed by his presence, gave way for some time, to a tide of favour too strong for them to oppose. Their enmity however, was too strong to remain long inactive; but by the assistance of Fonseca, minister for Indian affairs, who was now promoted to be bishop of Badajoz, they threw in so many obstacles, that the preparations were retarded one whole year, before he could procure two ships, to send over a part of the supplies intended for the colony; and near two years were spent before the small squadron was ready, of which he was to take the command. This squadron consisted of six ships of no great burden, and indifferently provided for a long voyage.

He now meditated a different course from what he had before undertaken: still possessed with those erroneous ideas, which at first induced him to consider the country he had discovered, as a part of the continent of India: he expected to find those fertile regions to the south-west of the countries he had discovered. He therefore proposed, as the most certain for finding out these, to stand directly for the Cape de Verd islands, until he came under the equinoctial line, and then to stretch to the west before a favourable wind which blows invariably between the tropics.

Full of this idea he set sail for his third voyage, on the thirtieth of May, 1498, and touched at the Canaries and Cape de Verd Islands; from Ferro he despatched three of his ships with a supply of provisions for the colony of Hispaniola, with the other three he pursued his course to the south.

No remarkable occurrence happened until they arrived within five degrees of the line, when they were becalmed, and the heat was so excessive that the Spaniards were apprehensive the ships would take fire; their fears were relieved by a shower of rain,

but did not much abate the heat. The admiral was so fatigued by unremitting care and loss of sleep, that he was seized with a violent fit of the gout and a fever.

These circumstances induced him to listen to the remonstrances of his men, and to alter his course to the north west, that he might reach some of the Caribbee islands, where he might refit, and obtain a fresh supply of provisions.

On the first of August, the man stationed in the round-top, surprised them with the joyful cry of *Land!* Columbus named it *Trinidad*, which name it still retains; it lies near the mouth of the river *Oronoco*, on the coast of *Guiana*. This river rolls towards the ocean such a vast body of water, and with such an impetuous force, that when it meets the tide, which on that coast rises to an uncommon height, occasions such a swell and agitation, that it is both surprising and formidable.

Columbus, before he was aware of the danger, was entangled with those adverse currents, and owed his safety by boldly venturing through a narrow strait which appeared so tremendous, that he called it *La Boca del Drago*: no sooner was the consternation subsided, than Columbus drew comfort and consolation from a circumstance, so full of peril. He wisely concluded that such a vast body of water, could not be supplied by any island, but must flow through a country of immense extent, and that he had now in consequence, arrived at that country, which had been the main object of his pursuit.

Full of this idea, he stood to the west along the coast of those provinces, now known by the names of *Paria* and *Cumana*. He landed in several places, and found the inhabitants resembled those of *Hispaniola*; they wore, as ornaments, small plates of gold and pearls of considerable value, which they willingly exchanged for European toys. Their understanding and courage appeared superior to the inhabitants of the islands.

This country produced four-footed animals of different kinds, and a great variety of fowls and fruit. The admiral was so much delighted with its fertility, that with the warm enthusiasm of a discoverer, he imagined it to be the paradise described in Scripture, which the Almighty had chosen for the residence of man, while he was innocent and worthy of such a possession.

Thus, Columbus had the glory of discovering a new world, making considerable progress towards a perfect knowledge of it, and was the first man who conducted the Spaniards to that vast settlement, which has been the chief seat of their empire, and source of their treasures. The weak situation of his ships, scarcity of provisions, and his own infirmities, together with the impatience of his crew, made it necessary for him to steer away for *Hispaniola*. On the thirtieth of August, 1498, he reached that island, and found the colony in such a situation, as left him no

prospect of enjoying that repose, which he stood so much in need of. Many changes had happened, during his absence. His brother, the Adelantado, agreeable to former instructions, had removed the colony from Isabella, to a more convenient station, on the opposite side of the island, and laid the foundation of the town of St. Domingo.

As soon as they were established in this new settlement, the Adelantado, to prevent the people from forming new cabals, marched into other parts of the island, which his brother had not yet reduced to obedience; as the people were unable to resist, they submitted every where to the tribute imposed. While the Adelantado was thus employed, an alarming mutiny broke out, among the Spaniards: the ring-leader was Francis Roldan, who was placed by Columbus, to be the guardian of order and tranquility, in the colony.

The arguments he employed to seduce his countrymen, were frivolous and ill-founded. He accused Columbus and his three brothers of arrogance and severity. He insinuated that they aimed at establishing an independent dominion in the country: for this purpose, they designed to cut off part of the Spaniards, by hunger and fatigue, that they might, the more easily, reduce the remainder to subjection; he said, it was unworthy of Castilians, to be the tame and passive slaves of three Genoese adventurers.

By these insidious means, strengthened by his rank, a deep impression was made on the minds of his countrymen, already prepared to receive unfavourable impressions. A considerable number made choice of him, for their leader, and took up arms against the Adelantado and his brother, seized the king's magazine of provisions, and endeavoured to surprize the fort at St. Domingo. This was preserved by the vigilance of Don Diego Columbus. The mutineers were obliged to retire to the province of Xaragua, where they continued, not only to oppose the Adelantado's authority themselves, but excited the Indians to throw off the yoke.

Such was the distracted state of the colony, when Columbus arrived. He was astonished to find that the three ships, which he had despatched from the Canaries had not yet arrived. By want of skill in the pilots, and the violence of the currents, they had been carried one hundred and sixty miles west of St. Domingo, and forced to take shelter in the harbour of the province of Xaragua, where Roldan and his seditious followers were cantoned. Roldan carefully concealed from the commanders, his insurrection against the Adelantado, and employed all his art to gain their confidence, persuaded them to set on shore, a considerable part of the new settlers, whom they brought over, that they might proceed by land to St. Domingo.



It required no great argument with those men, to espouse his cause. They were the refuse of the jails of Spain. These were familiarized to deeds of violence, and eagerly returned to a course of life to which they had been accustomed. The commanders of the ships were convinced, when it was too late, of their imprudence, and stood away for St. Domingo, and got safe into port a few days after their admiral.

These ships brought but small relief to the colony, their provisions being much reduced, by the length of the voyage. Roldan, by the additional force of his new associates, became extremely formidable, and extravagant in his demands. Columbus, filled with resentment at his ingratitude, and highly incensed at the insolence of his followers, yet appeared in no haste to take the field. He trembled at the thoughts of kindling the flames of civil war. He saw with regret, that the prejudices and passions which had excited the rebels to take arms, had infected those who still adhered to him, and were all cold to the service. He therefore chose to negotiate rather than fight. By a seasonable proclamation, offering free pardon to such as returned to their duty, he made impressions on some of the malecontents. To those who were desirous of returning to Spain, he gave full liberty : by this he allured all those that were disgusted with the country, and disappointed in their views. He soothed Roldan's pride, by promising to restore him to his former office ; and by complying with the commands of others, he satisfied their avarice. Thus gradually, and without bloodshed, after several tedious negotiations, he dissolved a confederacy that threatened ruin to the colony, and restored order and regular government.

This mutinous disposition in the people, prevented Columbus from prosecuting his discoveries on the continent. As soon as his affairs would permit, he sent some of his ships to Spain, with an account of the voyage he had made, together with a description of the countries, which he had discovered ; a chart of the coast along which he sailed ; also specimens of the gold, pearls, and other curiosities found there. At the same time he transmitted an account of the insurrection in Hispaniola. Roldan and his followers, did not neglect to convey to Spain, by the same ships, an apology for their conduct, and recriminated upon the admiral, and his brothers.

Unfortunately for the honour of Spain, and the happiness of Columbus, Roldan gained the most credit at court, and produced unexpected events. The perpetual occupation and disquiet, which the malecontents in the colony gave him, prevented him from attending to the machinations of his enemies, in the court of Spain. Several of these had embraced the opportunity of returning to Europe, in the ships Columbus had despatched from St. Domingo.

Inflamed with rage at the disappointment of all their hopes, their poverty and distress excited compassion, and gave their accusations the appearance of probability, and made their complaints interesting. They teased Ferdinand and Isabella, with memorials, containing an account of their own grievances, and charges against Columbus. Whenever the king and queen appeared in public, they were surrounded by a crowd of petitioners, demanding payment of arrears due to them, and vengeance on Columbus, as the author of their sufferings. The admiral's sons were insulted wherever they met them, reproaching them as the offspring of a projector, whose fatal curiosity had discovered those pernicious regions, which drained Spain of its wealth, and would prove the grave of its people.

These endeavours to ruin Columbus, were powerfully seconded by that party of courtiers, who had always thwarted his schemes, and were stung with envy at his success and credit.

Ferdinand listened with a willing and partial ear to every accusation; time had now diminished the first sensations of joy, which the discovery of the New World had occasioned, and fame alone was not sufficient to satisfy the cold and avaricious mind of Ferdinand. He considered Spain as a loser by the enterprize of Columbus, and imputed it to his incapacity for government, that a country abounding in gold, had not yielded a greater value to its conquerors. Even Isabella began to give way to the number and boldness of his accusers, and concluded, that there must have been some occasion, on his part, that caused such heavy complaints against him. This was no sooner known than a resolution fatal to Columbus was taken.

Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of Calatrava, was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, with full powers to inquire into the conduct of Columbus; and if he found the charge of mal-administration proved against him, to supercede him in the government. It was impossible for Columbus to escape condemnation, when this preposterous commission made it the interest of the judge to find him guilty.

Though Columbus had restored tranquility in the island, though he had brought both Spaniards and Indians, to submit quietly to his government, yet the interested Bovadilla, without attending to the merit of those services, shewed a determined purpose of treating him as a criminal. He seized the admiral's house in St. Domingo, when he was absent, with all his effects; he rendered himself master of the fort and the king's stores, by violence; and required all persons to acknowledge him as supreme governor: he set at liberty all the prisoners confined by the admiral; and summoned him to appear before his tribunal to answer for his conduct, sending him at the same time a copy of the royal mandate, by which Columbus was enjoined to yield implicit obedience to his commands.

Columbus, though deeply affected with the ingratitude and injustice of Ferdinand and Isabella, submitted with a respectful suence to the will of his sovereigns, and repaired directly to the court of that violent and partial judge. Bovadilla, without admitting him to his presence, ordered him instantly to be arrested, loaded with chains, and hurried on board a ship. Under this humiliating reverse of fortune, that firmness of mind which had hitherto supported him did not forsake him. Conscious of his own integrity, and solacing himself with the great things he had achieved, he endured this insult, not only with that composure, but dignity that surprized and overawed his enemies.

Bovadilla, to excuse his own conduct and to load Columbus with infamy, encouraged all persons, however infamous, to lodge informations, though false and inconsistent, against him; out of these Bovadilla collected materials to support an accusation, which he transmitted to Spain, at the same time that he ordered Columbus and his two brothers to be carried thither in fetters. And added the cruel insult of confining the brothers in different ships, excluding them from that friendly intercourse, which might have soothed them under such accumulated distress.

But although the Spaniards in Hispaniola approved of the arbitrary and cruel proceedings of Bovadilla, there was one man who still remembered how much his countrymen were indebted to Columbus; and was touched with pity for the man who had performed such great actions. This was Alonzo de Valejo, the captain of the vessel on board of which the admiral was confined. As soon as he was clear of the island, he approached his prisoner with great respect, and offered to release him from the fetters with which he was so unjustly loaded. "No," replied Columbus, with a noble indignation, "I wear these irons in consequence of an order from my sovereigns; they shall find me as obedient to this, as to their other injunctions. By their command I am brought into this situation, and their command alone, shall set me at liberty."

The voyage to Spain was fortunately very short. As soon as Ferdinand and Isabella were informed that Columbus was brought home a prisoner, in chains, they felt the necessity of disavowing all such inhuman proceedings. They saw that all Europe would be filled with indignation at such ungenerous conduct towards a man to whom they were so much indebted, and who had performed actions worthy of the highest recompense. Ashamed of their own conduct, and eager to make some reparation for this injury, as well as to efface the stain upon their own characters, they instantly issued orders to set Columbus at liberty; invited him to court; and remitted money to enable him to appear there in a manner suitable to his rank.

When he came into the royal presence, the various passions



which agitated his mind, for a time suppressed the power of utterance. He at length recovered himself, and justified his conduct by producing the fullest proof of his innocence and integrity: and exposed the evil designs of his enemies. Who, not contented with having ruined his fortune, aimed a deadly blow at his honour and fame. He was treated by Ferdinand with decent civility: by Isabella with tenderness and respect. They concurred in expressing their sorrow for the treatment he had so unjustly received, disavowed their knowledge of it, and promised him protection and future favour.

Bovadilla was instantly degraded, that all suspicion might be removed from themselves, as authors of such disgraceful and violent proceedings: yet they refused to restore to Columbus those privileges before granted him as viceroy: and which he so justly merited. Though willing to appear the avengers of Columbus's wrongs, a mean illiberal jealousy still subsisted. To a man who had discovered and put them in possession of a country, that was the source of envy to all Europe, they were afraid to trust: they retained him at court, under various pretexts; and appointed Nicholas de Ovando, a knight of the military order of Alcantara, governor of Hispaniola. This ungenerous conduct exasperated Columbus to such a degree, that he could no longer conceal the sentiments which it excited. Wherever he went, he carried about with him the fetters with which he had been loaded. He had them hung up in his chamber, and he gave orders that when he died, they should be buried with him.

Notwithstanding this ungenerous treatment of Columbus, the Spirit of discovery continued active and vigorous. Roderigo de Bastidas, and John de la Cosa, fitted out two ships in company; the latter having served under Columbus in two of his voyages, was deemed the most skilful pilot in Spain. They steered directly for the continent, and arrived on the coast of Paria, and continuing from thence west, discovered the coast of the province now called Terra Firma, from Cape de Vala, to the gulf of Darien.

Not long after Ojeda, with Amerigo Vespucci, set out on a second voyage, and held the same course with the former, and touched at the same places.

The voyage of Bastidas was prosperous and lucrative: that of Ojeda unfortunate. But both tended to increase the ardour of discovery; for, in proportion as the Spaniards became acquainted with the extent of the American continent, their ideas of its opulence and fertility, increased.

Before these adventurers returned, a fleet was equipped at the public expense, for carrying over Ovando, the new governor, to Hispaniola. His presence was very necessary, that a period might be put to the imprudent administration of Bovadilla, which

threatened the destruction of the colony : who conscious of the injustice and violence of his proceedings against Columbus, made it his sole study to gain the favour of his countrymen, by gratifying their passions, and accommodating himself to their prejudices.

With this intent he established regulations in every respect the reverse of those which Columbus had deemed essential to the welfare of the settlement. Instead of that severe discipline, which was necessary to habituate the dissolute and corrupt members of society, and restrain them within proper bounds, he suffered them to enjoy such uncontrolled liberty, as led to the most extravagant excesses. So far from protecting the Indians, he gave a legal sanction to the oppression of that unhappy people. He divided them into distinct classes, and distributed them amongst his adherents : reducing them to a state of complete servitude.

The rapacity and impatience of the Spaniards after gold, was such, that in their pursuit of it, they neglected all other means of acquiring wealth. The Indians were driven in crowds to the mountains and compelled to work in the mines, by masters who imposed their tasks without mercy or discretion. Labour so disproportioned to their strength and former habits of life, wasted that feeble race of men, with such rapid consumption, as must soon have exterminated the ancient inhabitants of the island.

The necessity of providing a remedy for these evils, hastened Ovando's departure. He commanded the most respectable armament hitherto fitted out for the new world. It consisted of thirty-two ships, having on board two thousand five hundred persons, with an intention of settling the country.

Upon the arrival of the new governor, Bovadilla resigned his charge, and was commanded to return instantly to Spain, to answer for his conduct. Roldan and the other ringleaders of the mutineers, who had been so active in opposing Columbus, were ordered to leave the island at the same time. The natives were declared free subjects of Spain, by public proclamation : of whom no service was required, without paying them the full price of their labour. Various regulations were made tending to suppress the licentiousness of the Spaniards, which had been so fatal to the colony.

To limit the exorbitant gain which private persons were supposed to make by working the mines, an order was published, directing all the gold to be brought to a public smelting house ; and one half of it was declared to be the property of the crown.

While these steps were taking for the security and tranquility of the colony, Columbus was engaged in the fruitless and unpleasant employment of soliciting an ungrateful court to fulfil its agreements : and demanded, according to the original capit-

ulation in the year 1492, to be reinstated in his office of viceroy over the countries which he had discovered : but he solicited in vain. The greatness of his discoveries, and the prospect of their increasing value, made the jealous Ferdinand consider the concessions in the capitulation as extravagant and impolitic ; he inspired Isabella, with the same sentiments : and under various pretexts, equally frivolous and unjust, they eluded all the requisitions of Columbus to perform that, which a solemn treaty bound them to accomplish.

After attending the court of Spain near two years, as an humble suppliant, at length he was convinced that he laboured in vain. But even this ungenerous return did not discourage him from pursuing the great object which first called forth his inventive genius, and excited him to attempt discovery. To open a new passage to the East Indies was his original and favourite scheme. This continued to engross his thoughts : he conceived an opinion that beyond the continent of America, there was a sea which extended to the East Indies, and hoped to find some Strait or narrow neck of land, by which a communication might be opened ; and from the part of the ocean already known, by a very fortunate conjecture, he supposed this strait or isthmus to be situated near the gulph of Darien.

Filled with this idea, though now far advanced in age, worn out with fatigue, and broken with infirmities, he offered cheerfully to undertake a voyage which would ascertain this important point, and perfect the grand scheme which from the beginning, he proposed to accomplish.

Ferdinand and Isabella willingly came into the proposal : they were glad of some honourable employment that would remove from court a man, with whose demands they were determined not to comply, and whose services it was indecent to neglect. Though unwilling to reward Columbus, they were sensible of his merits, they were convinced of his skill and conduct, and had reason to confide in his success.

To these considerations there was a still more powerful influence. About this time (1502,) the Portuguese fleet under Cabral, arrived from the Indies ; and by the richness of its cargo, gave the people of Europe a more perfect idea. than they had hitherto been able to form, of the opulence of the east. The Portuguese had been more successful in their discoveries than the Spaniards. They opened a communication with countries where industry, arts, and elegance, flourished, and where commerce had been long established, and carried to a greater extent than in any region of the earth.

Their voyages thither yielded immediate and vast profit, in commodities that were extremely precious and in great request. Lisbon became the seat of commerce and of wealth : while Spain



had only the expectation of remote benefit, and future gain, from the western world.

Columbus's offer to conduct them to the East by a route which he expected would be much shorter and less dangerous, was very acceptable to the Spaniards. Even Ferdinand was roused by such a prospect, and warmly approved of the undertaking.

Notwithstanding the importance of the object of this fourth voyage to the nation, Columbus could procure only four small barks: the largest of which did not exceed seventy tons burden: accustomed to brave danger, he did not hesitate to accept the command of this pittiful squadron. His brother Bartholomew, and his second son Ferdinand, the historian of his actions, accompanied him.

He sailed from Cadiz on the ninth of May, 1502, and touched as usual at the Canary islands; from thence it was his intention to have directed his course for the continent; but his largest vessel was so heavy a sailor, and unfit for the expedition, that he was obliged to bear away for Hispaniola, that he might, if possible, exchange her for some ship of the fleet that had carried over Ovando.

When he arrived off St. Domingo, he found eighteen of these ships ready loaded, and on the eve of their departure for Spain. Columbus immediately acquainted the governor with the destination of his voyage, and the accident which had obliged him to alter his route. He requested to enter the harbour, not only that he might have permission to negotiate the exchange of his ship, but that he might take shelter, during the violent hurricane which he discerned was approaching: on that account he also advised the governor to put off the departure of the fleet bound for Spain. But Ovando refused his request and despised his counsel. Under circumstances in which humanity would have afforded refuge to a stranger, Columbus was denied admittance into a country of which he had discovered the existence, and had acquired possession. He was regarded as a visionary prophet, arrogating to himself the power to predict beyond the reach of human foresight.

The fleet set sail June 29th, 1502, for Spain: and the ensuing night the hurricane came on, with dreadful impetuosity and violence. Columbus alone, aware of the danger, took precautions against it; and saved his little squadron. The fleet bound to Spain met with the fate which the rashness and obstinacy of its commanders merited. Of eighteen ships, two or three only escaped. In this general wreck perished Bovadilla and Roldan, and the greater part of those who had been the most active in persecuting Columbus and oppressing the Indians; together with all the wealth which they had acquired by injustice and cruelty. It exceeded in value two hundred thousand Pesos; an im-

mense sum at that period, and would have been sufficient to screen them from punishment, and secure them a gracious reception at the Spanish court.

One of the ships that escaped had on board all the effects of Columbus, which had been recovered from the wreck of his fortune. Historians universally attribute this event to an immediate interposition of divine Providence, in order to avenge the wrongs of an injured man, as well as to punish the oppressors of an innocent people. The ignorant and superstitious formed an opinion, which the vulgar are apt to entertain with respect to persons acting in a sphere far above their comprehension; they believed Columbus to possess supernatural powers, and that he had conjured up this dreadful storm by magical art, and incantations, in order to be revenged on his enemies.

The inhospitable reception which Columbus met with at Hispaniola hastened his departure for the continent. He set sail July 14th, 1502. and after a tedious and dangerous voyage, he discovered Guánara, an island not far from Honduras. There he had an interview with some of the inhabitants, who arrived in a large canoe. They appeared more civilized, and had acquired more knowledge in the arts than any he had hitherto conversed with.

In return to the eager inquiries of the Spaniards concerning the places where they got the gold, of which their ornaments were made; they directed them to countries situated to the west, which they described as abounding in that precious metal, in such profusion as to be made use of in common domestic materials.

Instead of steering in search of a country so inviting, which would have conducted them along the coast of Yucatan, to the rich empire of Mexico, Columbus was so intent upon his favourite scheme of discovering that inlet to the Indian ocean, that he bore away to the east towards the gulf of Darien.

In this navigation he discovered all the coast of the continent, from cape Gracias a Dios, to a harbour which, for its beauty and security, he named Puerto Bello. He searched in vain for the imaginary strait or inlet, through which he expected to make his way into an unknown sea: and though he went on shore several times, and advanced into the country, he did not penetrate so far as to cross the narrow isthmus which separates the gulf of Mexico from the great southern ocean.

He was, however, so delighted with the country, and conceived such an idea of its wealth, from the specimens of gold produced by the natives, that he resolved to leave a small colony upon the river Belem, in the province of Veragua, under the command of his brother, and to return himself to Spain, in order to procure what was requisite to render it a permanent establish-

lishment. But the ungovernable spirit of the people under his command, deprived Columbus of the glory of planting the first colony on the continent of America.

Their insolence and rapaciousness provoked the natives to take arms, and as they were a more hardy and warlike race of men than the inhabitants of the islands, they cut off a part of the Spaniards, and obliged the rest to abandon a station they were no longer able to maintain.

This was not the only misfortune that befell Columbus: it was followed by a succession of disasters. Furious hurricanes, with violent storms of thunder and lightning, threatened his leaky vessels with destruction; while his disconsolate crew, exhausted with fatigue, and destitute of provisions, were unwilling, or unable, to execute his commands. One of his ships was lost; he was obliged to abandon another totally unfit for service; and with the two which remained, he quitted that part of the continent which in his anguish he named the coast of vexation, and bore away for Hispaniola.

New distresses awaited him in this voyage; he was driven back by a violent tempest from the coast of Cuba; his ships fell foul of each other, and were so much shattered by the shock, that with the utmost difficulty they reached Jamaica, where he was obliged to run them aground to prevent them from sinking. The measure of his calamities seemed now to be full. He was cast on shore upon an island at a considerable distance from the only settlement of the Spaniards in America. His ships were disabled beyond the possibility of repair. To convey an account of his situation to Hispaniola seemed impracticable; and without this it was in vain to expect relief. His genius ever fertile in resources, and most vigorous in those perilous extremities, when weak minds abandon themselves to despair, discovered the only expedient which afforded any prospect of deliverance. He had recourse to the hospitality of the natives, who considering the Spaniards as superior beings, were eager on all occasions to administer to their wants: from them he obtained two of their canoes; in these, which were only fit for creeping along the coast, or crossing from one bay to another, Mendez, a Spaniard, and Fieschi, a Genoese, two gentlemen particularly attached to Columbus, gallantly offered to set out for Hispaniola: a voyage of above thirty leagues. This they accomplished in ten days, after encountering incredible dangers, and such fatigue that several of the Indians who accompanied them, sunk under it and died.

The attention paid them by the governor of Hispaniola, was neither such as their courage merited, or the distress of Columbus and his associates required. Ovando, from a mean jealousy of Columbus, was afraid of permitting him to set his foot on the island under his government.



This ungenerous passion absorbed every tender sentiment for the misfortunes of that great man; and his own fellow citizens were involved in the same calamity. Mendez and Fieschi, spent eight months in fruitless petitions, and seeking relief for their commander and associates.

During this period, the mind of Columbus was agitated by various passions. At first the speedy deliverance expected from the success of Mendez and Fieschi's voyage, cheered the spirits of the most desponding; after some time, they began to suspect that they had miscarried in the attempt. At length they all concluded, that Mendez and Fieschi had perished.

Hope, the last resource of the wretched, now forsook them and made their situation appear more dismal. The only alternative that appeared, was to end their miserable days among naked savages, far from their native country and friends. The seamen transported with rage, rose in open mutiny, threatened the life of Columbus, whom they reproached as the author of their calamities; seized ten canoes, which he had purchased of the Indians, and despising his remonstrances and entreaties, made off with them to a distant part of the island. At the same time, the natives murmured at the long residence of the Spaniards in their country.

Like their neighbours, in Hispaniola, they considered the supporting so many strangers to be an intolerable burden. They brought in provisions with reluctance, and with a sparing hand, and threatened to withdraw these supplies altogether. Such a resolution would have been fatal to the Spaniards. Their safety depended upon the good-will of the natives; and, unless they could revive the admiration and reverence with which these simple people at first beheld them, destruction appeared unavoidable.

Though the disorderly proceedings of the mutineers had, in a great measure, effaced those favourable impressions, the ingenuity of Columbus suggested an artifice that completely answered their purpose: and not only restored, but encreased, the high opinion which the Indians had formerly conceived of them.

By his skill in astronomy he knew there would be a total eclipse of the moon. He assembled all the principal persons of the district around him on the day before it happened: and after reproaching them for their fickleness in withdrawing their affection and assistance from men, whom they lately had revered; he told them the Spaniards were servants to the great Spirit, who dwells in heaven, who made and governed the world; that he was offended at their refusing to support men who were the objects of his peculiar favour: was preparing to punish this crime with exemplary severity; and that very night the moon should withhold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as a sign of divine wrath, and an emblem of the vengeance ready to fall on them.

To this marvellous prediction some of them listened with careless indifference, others with credulous astonishment. But when the moon began gradually to be darkened, and at length appeared of a red colour, all were struck with terror. They ran with consternation to their houses, and returning instantly to Columbus loaded with provisions, threw them at his feet, conjuring him to intercede with the great Spirit to avert the destruction with which they were threatened. Columbus seeming to be moved by their entreaties, promised to comply with their desire.

The eclipse went off, the moon recovered its splendour, and from that day the Spaniards were not only profusely furnished with provisions, but the Indians avoided every thing that could give them offence : and paid a superstitious attention to them as long as they staid upon the island.

During these transactions, the mutineers enraged at their disappointments, marched to that part of the island where Columbus remained, threatening him with new dangers and insults. While they were advancing, an event more cruel and afflicting than any which he dreaded from them, happened. The governor of Hispaniola, still under the influence of dark suspicion, sent a small bark to Jamaica, not to relieve Columbus, or deliver his distressed countrymen, but to spy out their condition.

Fearing the sympathy of those whom he sent would operate too powerfully in favour of their countrymen, he sent Escobar, an inveterate enemy of Columbus, who adhered to his instructions, with malignant accuracy ; cast anchor at some distance from the island, approached the shore in a small boat, took a view of the wretched state of the Spaniards, delivered a letter of empty compliment to the admiral, received his answer, and departed.

When the Spaniards first descried the vessel standing towards the island, every heart exulted, expecting the hour of their deliverance had arrived ; but when the vessel disappeared, they sunk into the deepest dejection, and all their hopes were lost. Columbus alone, though he felt this wanton insult, retained such composure, as to be able to cheer his followers. He assured them that Mendez and Fieschi, had reached Hispaniola in safety ! and that they would speedily procure ships to carry them off ; and as Escobar's vessel could not carry them all, he had refused to go with her, because he was determined not to abandon his faithful companions in distress : soothed with the expectation of speedy deliverance, and delighted with his apparent generosity, in attending more to their preservation than his own, their spirits revived, and he regained their confidence.

The mutineers were now at hand. All his endeavours to reclaim those desperadoes, had no effect, but to increase their phrenzy. Their demands became more extravagant. and their intentions more violent and bloody. It became necessary to oppose them with open force.

Columbus, who had been long afflicted with the gout, could not take the field. His brother, the Adelantado, marched against them. They quickly met. The mutineers rejected with scorn, all offers of accommodation, and rushed on boldly to the attack. They were repulsed at the first onset, and several of their most daring leaders were slain. The Adelantado, whose strength was equal to his courage, closed with their captain, wounded, disarmed him, and made him a prisoner. This disconcerted the rest who fled with a dastardly fear, equal to their former insolence. Soon after they submitted in a body to Columbus, and bound themselves in the most solemn oaths, to submit to his commands.

Hardly was tranquility established, when the ships appeared, whose arrival Columbus had promised. With transports of joy the Spaniards quitted an island, in which the mean jealousy of Ovando had suffered them to languish above a year, exposed to misery in various forms.

When they arrived at St. Domingo, the fourteenth of August, 1504, the governor with that mean artifice usually attending vulgar minds, that labours to atone for insolence with servility, now fawned on the man he had attempted to ruin. He received Columbus with the most studied respect, lodged him in his own house, and distinguished him with every mark of honour. But, amidst those overacted demonstrations of regard, he could not conceal the malignity latent in his heart. He set at liberty the captain of the mutineers, whom Columbus had brought over in chains, to be tried for his crimes, and threatened those who had adhered to the admiral, with proceeding to judicial inquiry into their conduct.

Columbus submitted in silence to what he could not redress ; but was impatient to quit a country under the jurisdiction of a man who had treated him with such inhumanity and injustice. His preparations were soon finished, and he set sail for Spain with two ships. Disasters still continued to accompany him ; one of his vessels was so disabled, as to be forced back to St. Domingo ; the other shattered by violent storms, sailed seven hundred leagues with jury masts, and reached with difficulty, the port of St. Lucar.

There he received an account of an event, the most discouraging that could have happened. This was the death of his patroness, queen Isabella, in whose justice, humanity, and favour, he confided as his last resource. Not one was now left to redress his wrongs, or to reward him for his services and sufferings, but Ferdinand, who had so long opposed, and so often had injured him. To solicit a prince, prejudiced against him, was irksome and hopeless. In this, however, was Columbus doomed to employ the close of his days.



As soon as his health would permit, he repaired to court where he was received with civility barely decent: he presented petition after petition, demanded the punishment of his oppressors, and the rights and privileges bestowed upon him, &c. the capitulation of one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. Ferdinand continued to amuse him with fair words and unmeaning promises. Instead of granting his claims, he proposed expedients in order to elude them.

The declining health of Columbus, flattered Ferdinand with the hopes of being soon delivered from an importunate suitor: nor was he deceived in his expectations. Disgusted with the ingratitude of a monarch, whom he had served with such fidelity and success, worn out with fatigue and hardships, and broken with infirmities, which these brought upon him, Columbus ended his life at Valladolid, on the twentieth of May, one thousand five hundred and six, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He died with composure of mind, suitable to the magnanimity which distinguished his character, and with sentiments of piety becoming that supreme respect for religion, which he manifested in every occurrence of his life.

# HISTORY OF AMERICA.

## BOOK II.

WHILE Columbus was employed in his last voyage, the colony of Hispaniola was gradually acquiring the form of a regular government: the humane solicitude of Isabella to protect the Indians from oppression, and the proclamation, by which the Spaniards were prohibited from compelling them to work, retarded, for some time, the progress of improvement. The natives, who considered exemption from labour as supreme happiness, reject, with scorn, every allurements by which they were invited to work. The Spaniards, accustomed to the service of the Indians, quitted the island: many of those who came over with Ovando were seized with distempers peculiar to the climate; and in a short time near a thousand of them died. At the same time, the demand of one half of the product of the mines claimed by the crown, was found to be an exaction so exorbitant, that there was none to be found that would engage to work them upon such terms. Ovando, to save the colony from ruin, relaxed the rigour of the royal edicts, and again distributed the Indians among the Spaniards, compelling them to work for a stated time, in digging the mines, or in cultivating the ground: to cover this breach of his instructions, he enjoined their masters to pay them a certain sum for the price of their work. He reduced the royal share of the gold found in the mines to one fifth, and was so fortunate as to persuade the court to approve of these regulations.

The Indians, after enjoying a short respite from servitude, now felt the yoke of bondage to be so galling, that they made several attempts to regain their freedom. This the Spaniards considered as rebellion, and took arms in order to reduce them to obedience: considering them not as men fighting in defence of their liberty, but as slaves, who had revolted against their masters. Their caziques when taken, were condemned like the leaders of a banditti, to the most cruel and ignominious punishments; and all their subjects, without regard to rank, were reduced to the same abject slavery. Such was the fate of the cazique of Higüey, a province in the eastern extremity of the island.

This war was occasioned by the perfidy of the Spaniards, in violating a treaty, began and concluded by them with the natives: and was terminated by hanging up the cazique, who defended his people with a bravery that deserved a better fate.

But his treatment of Anacoana, a female cazique, was still more treacherous and cruel. The province anciently called Xaragua, which extends from the fertile plain where Leogane is now situ-

ated to the western extremity of the island, was subject to her authority. She, from that partial fondness with which the women of America were attached to the Europeans, had always courted the friendship of the Spaniards, and done them good offices. But some of the adherents of Roldan, having settled in her country, were so exasperated at her endeavouring to restrain their excesses, that they accused her of a design of throwing off the yoke, and destroying the Spaniards.

Ovando, though he knew that little credit was due to such profligate characters, marched without further inquiry towards Xaragua, with three hundred foot and seventy horsemen. To prevent the Indians from taking alarm at the hostile appearance, he gave out that it was his sole intention to visit Anacoana, to whom his countrymen had been so much indebted, and to regulate with her the mode of levying the tribute payable to the king of Spain.

Anacoana, in order to receive this illustrious guest with due honour, assembled the principal men in her dominions, to the number of three hundred, and advancing at their head, accompanied by a vast crowd of the lower rank, she welcomed Ovando with songs and dances, and conducted him to the place of her residence. There he was entertained for several days, with all the kindness of simple hospitality, and amused with games and spectacles usual among the natives, upon occasions of mirth and festivity.

Amidst the security which this inspired, Ovando was meditating the destruction of his unsuspecting and generous entertainer, and her subjects: and the manner in which he executed his scheme, discovered such meanness and barbarity, as must shock every lover of humanity.

Under colour of showing the Indians an European tournament, he advanced with his troops in battle array. The infantry took possession of all the avenues which led to the village, while the horsemen encompassed the house in which Anacoana and her chiefs were assembled. These movements were beheld with admiration, without any mixture of fear, until upon a signal, the Spaniards drew their swords, and rushed upon the Indians, who were defenceless, and astonished at an act of treachery, which exceeded their conception. Anacoana was instantly secured; all her attendants who were in the house, were seized and bound. Fire was set to the house; and without examination, all those unhappy persons, the most illustrious in their own country, were consumed in the flames. Anacoana was reserved for a more ignominious fate. She was carried in chains to St. Domingo: and, after the formality of a trial before Spanish judges, she was condemned upon the evidence of those very men who had betrayed her, to be publicly hanged.



The Indians, overawed and humbled by the destruction of their chief and principal men, submitted to the Spanish yoke. Ovando distributed them among his friends on the island. The exactions of their oppressors no longer knew any bounds. But barbarous as their policy was, and fatal to the natives, it produced considerable consequences, by calling forth the exertion of a whole nation, pointing it in one direction.

The working of the mines was carried on with amazing success. During several years the gold brought into the royal smelting houses in Hispaniola, amounted annually to sixty thousand pesos, above one hundred thousand pounds sterling : an immense sum at that time.

Although Ovando had treated the Indians with cruelty and treachery, he governed the Spaniards with wisdom and justice : he established equal laws, and executed them impartially : he endeavoured to turn the attention of the Spaniards to industry, more useful than searching the mines for gold. Some slips of the sugar-cane having been brought from the Canaries by way of experiment, were found to thrive with such increase in the rich and warm soil of Hispaniola, that the cultivation of them became an object of commerce : and in a few years, the manufacturing this commodity became the great object of the inhabitants, and most certain source of their wealth.

But notwithstanding this prosperous appearance of the colony, a calamity impended, which threatened its dissolution. The natives, on whose labour the Spaniards depended, wasted so fast, that the extinction of the whole race appeared to be inevitable. When Columbus discovered Hispaniola, the number of the inhabitants was computed to be at least a million. They were now reduced to sixty thousand in the space of fifteen years. This amazing consumption of the human species, was the effect of several concurring causes. The inactive indolence in which they were used to pass their days, as it was the effect of their debility, contributed to increase it ; their food afforded but little nourishment, and taken in such small quantities, as was not sufficient to invigorate a languid frame, and render it equal to the efforts industry required.

The Spaniards without attending to those peculiarities in the constitution of the Indians, imposed such tasks upon them, that many sunk under the fatigue, and ended their wretched days. Others in despair cut short their own existence with a violent hand. Diseases of various kinds completed the desolation of the island. The Spaniards thus deprived of their slaves found it impossible to extend their improvements, or even carry on the works which they had already begun.

Ovando, in order to provide an immediate remedy for an evil so alarming, proposed to transport inhabitants of the Lucayo islands

to Hispaniola, under pretence they might be civilized with more facility, and instructed to greater advantage in the christian faith, if they were united to the Spanish colony, and under the immediate inspection of the missionaries settled there.

Ferdinand deceived by this artifice, or willing to connive at an act of violence which policy represented as necessary, assented to the proposal. Several vessels were fitted out for the Lucayos, the commanders of which informed the natives, with whose language they were now acquainted, that they came from a delightful country, in which their departed ancestors resided, by whom they were sent to invite them to partake of that bliss which they enjoyed. The simple people listened with wonder and credulity; and delighted with the idea of visiting their relations and friends in that happy region, followed the Spaniards with eagerness.

By this artifice, above forty thousand were decoyed into Hispaniola to mingle their groans and tears with its native inhabitants. The ardour with which the Spaniards pursued their operations in the mines, and the success attending their pursuit seemed to have engrossed their whole attention: no enterprize of any moment had been undertaken since the last voyage of Columbus. But the rapid decrease of the Indians rendered it impossible to acquire wealth with that facility as formerly; they began to form new schemes of aggrandizement, and the spirit of discovering new countries revived.

Juan Ponce de Leon, who commanded under Ovando in the eastern district of Hispaniola, passed over to the island of St. John de Puerto Rico, which Columbus had discovered in his second voyage, and penetrated into the interior part of the country. As he found the soil fertile, and expected from the information of the inhabitants, to discover gold mines in the mountains, Ovando permitted him to make a settlement. This was easily effected by that officer, who was eminent for his conduct and courage.

In a few years Puerto Rico was subject to the Spanish government; the natives were reduced to servitude, and treated with the same inconsiderate rigour as those of Hispaniola; and were soon exterminated.

About this time, Juan Diaz de Solis, in conjunction with Vincent Yanez Pinzen, one of Columbus's original companions, made a voyage to the continent. They held the same course which Columbus had taken, as far as to the Island of Guanicos; but, standing from thence to the west, discovered a new and extensive province, afterwards known by the name of Yucatan, and proceeded along the coast of that country.

This led to discoveries of greater importance. Sebastian de Ocampo, by the command of Ovando, sailed round Cuba, and first discovered that this country, which Columbus once supposed to be part of the continent, was a large island. This was one of the last occurrences of Ovando's administration.

Ever since the death of Columbus, his son Don Diego, had been employed in soliciting Ferdinand to grant him the offices of viceroy and admiral, in the New World, together with all the other immunities and profits, which descended to him by inheritance, in consequence of the original capitulation with his father. But if these dignities and revenues appeared so considerable to Ferdinand, that at the expense of being deemed unjust as well as ungrateful, he had wrested them from Columbus, it is not surprising that he should withhold them from the son.

Don Diego, after wasting two years in fruitless solicitation, brought his suit against Ferdinand, before the council that managed Indian affairs, and that court with that integrity, which reflects honour upon its proceedings, decided against the king, and confirmed Don Diego's claim of the viceroyalty, and all the other privileges, stipulated in the capitulation.

The sentence of the council of the Indies, gave him a title to a rank so elevated, and a fortune so opulent, that he found no difficulty in concluding a marriage with Donna Maria, daughter of Don Ferdinand de Toledo, great commendator of Leon, and brother of the duke of Alva, a grandee of the first rank, and nearly related to the king. The duke and his family so warmly espoused the cause of their new ally, that Ferdinand could not resist their solicitations. He recalled Ovando, and appointed Don Diego his successor, in 1509: in conferring this favour, he could not conceal his jealousy; for he allowed him only to assume the title of governor, and not that of viceroy, which had been adjudged to him.

He soon repaired to Hispaniola, attended by his uncles, his wife, (whom the courtesy of the Spaniards honoured with the title of vice-queen) and a numerous retinue of persons of both sexes descended of good families. He lived with a splendour and magnificence hitherto unknown in the New World; and the family of Columbus seemed now to enjoy the honours and rewards due to his superior genius: and of which he had been cruelly defrauded.

The colony acquired new lustre by the accession of so many inhabitants of a different rank and character, from those who had hitherto emigrated to America: and many of the most illustrious families in the Spanish settlements, are descended from the persons who attended Don Diego at that time. Though it was above ten years since Columbus had discovered the main land of America, the Spaniards had hitherto made no settlement in any part of it: but Alonzo de Ojeda, who had formerly made two voyages as a discoverer, by which he acquired considerable reputation, but no wealth; his character for intrepidity and conduct, easily procured him associates, who advanced the money requisite to defray the charges of the expedition.



About the same time, Diego de Nicuessa, who had acquired a large fortune in Hispaniola, revived the spirit of his countrymen. Ferdinand encouraged both ; and though he refused to advance the smallest sum, was very liberal of titles and patents. He erected two governments on the continent ; one extending from the Cape de Vela, to the gulf of Darien, and the other from that to Cape Gracios a Dios. The former was given to Ojeda, the latter to Nicuessa.

Ojedá fitted out a ship and two brigantines with three hundred men : Nicuessa, six vessels, with seven hundred and eighty men. They sailed about the same time from St. Domingo, for their respective governments. There is not in the history of mankind, any thing more singular or extravagant, than the form and ceremony they made use of in taking possession of the country. They endeavoured to convince the natives of the articles of the Christian faith, and in particular, of the jurisdiction of the pope over all the kingdoms of the earth ; and that he had granted their country to the king of Spain : they required them to submit to his authority, and embrace the Catholic religion. If they refused to comply, Ojeda and Nicuessa, were authorized to attack with sword and fire ; to reduce them, their wives, and children to a state of servitude, and compel them by force to submit to the authority of the king, and jurisdiction of the church.

The Indians of the continent spurned with indignation at propositions so extravagant : they could not conceive how a foreign priest, of whom they had no knowledge, could have a right to dispose of their country ; or how a prince, altogether a stranger to them, should claim the right of commanding them as his subjects. They turned to ridicule such extravagant proposals, and fiercely opposed the new invaders of their territories. Ojeda and Nicuessa, endeavoured to effect by force, what they could not accomplish by persuasion.

They found the natives of the continent different from their countrymen in the islands : they were fierce and brave. Their arrows were dipped in poison so deadly, that every wound was followed with certain death. In one encounter, they cut off seventy of Ojeda's followers, and the Spaniards were for the first time, taught to dread the inhabitants of the New World. Nothing could soften their ferocity. Though the Spaniards practised every art to soothe them, and gain their confidence, they refused to hold any intercourse or exchange any friendly office : they considered them as enemies come to deprive them of their liberty and independence.

Though the Spaniards received two considerable reinforcements, the greater part of those engaged in this unhappy enterprise, perished in less than a year. A few who survived set-

tled a feeble colony, at Santa Maria el Antigua, on the gulf of Darien, under the command of Vasco Nuguez de Balboa, who, in the most desperate extremities, displayed such courage and conduct as gained him the confidence of his countrymen, and marked him out for a leader, in more splendid and successful undertakings. Nor was he the only adventurer, who will appear with lustre in more important scenes.

Francis Pizarro, who was one of Ojeda's companions, afterwards performed many extraordinary actions. Ferdinand Cortes, whose name still became more famous, had engaged early in this enterprize, which roused all the active youth of Hispaniola to arms; but the good fortune which attended him in his subsequent adventures, interposed to save him from the disasters, to which his companions were exposed. He was taken ill at St. Domingo, before the departure of the fleet, and there detained.

The unfortunate issue of this expedition in 1511, did not deter the Spaniards, from engaging in new schemes of a similar nature. Don Diego Columbus proposed to conquer the island of Cuba, and to establish a colony there. Many persons of distinction in Hispaniola entered with alacrity into the measure.

The command of the troops sent on this expedition, was given to Diego Velasquez, one of his father's companions in his second voyage, whose ample fortune, long residence in Hispaniola, and reputation for probity and prudence, qualified him for conducting an expedition of importance. Three hundred men were deemed sufficient for the conquest of an island, seven hundred miles in length and filled with inhabitants. But as they were of the same unwarlike people as those of Hispaniola, the undertaking was not very hazardous.

The only obstruction the Spaniards met with, was from Hatuey, a cazique who had fled from Hispaniola and taken possession of the eastern extremity of Cuba. He stood upon the defensive when they first landed and endeavoured to drive them back to their ships. His feeble troops, were soon broken and dispersed; and he himself made prisoner. He was soon condemned to the flames. While he was fastened to the stake, a Franciscan friar labouring to convert him, promised him the immediate joys of heaven if he would embrace the christian faith; "Are there any Spaniards," said he after some pause "in that region of bliss which you describe?" Yes, replied the monk, but only such as are worthy and good. "The best of them," replied the indignant cazique, "have neither worth nor goodness: "I will not go to a place where I shall see one of that accursed race." With this dreadful example, the natives were so intimidated, that they submitted to their invaders, and Velasquez, without the loss of one man, annexed this large and fertile island to the Spanish monarchy.

Juan Ponce de Leon, about the year 1512, discovered Florida; he attempted to land in different places, but was repulsed with such vigour by the natives, as convinced him that an increase of force was necessary, to make a settlement with safety. But the primary object which induced him to undertake this voyage, was a tradition that prevailed among the natives of Puerto Rico, that in the island of Bimini, there was a fountain of such wonderful virtue, as to renew youth, and recall the strength and vigour of every person who bathed in it. That a tale so incredible should gain belief, among simple uninstructed Indians is not surprising: but that it should make an impression on enlightened people, appears in the present age, altogether incredible. The fact however is certain, and Robertson, in his history of America, says, the most authentic Spanish historians mention this extravagant attempt of their credulous countrymen.

Soon after the expedition to Florida a discovery of much greater consequence was made in another part of America. Balboa having been raised to the government of Santa Maria in Darien, made frequent inroads into the adjacent country. In one of these excursions, the Spaniards contended with such eagerness about the division of some gold, that they were upon the point of proceeding to violence. A young cazique astonished at the high value they set upon a thing of which he did not discern the use, tumbled the gold out of the balance with indignation; and turning to the Spaniards, "Why do you quarrel (said he) about such a trifle? if you are so fond of gold as to abandon your own country, and to disturb the tranquility of other nations for its sake, I will conduct you to a region where this metal is in such abundance, that the most common utensils are made of it." Transported with what they heard, Balboa and the rest inquired eagerly where this country lay, and how they might arrive at it. He informed them that at the distance of six suns, (that is of six days' journey) they should discover another ocean, near to which this wealthy kingdom was situated; but he told them if they intended to attack that powerful state, they must have forces far superior in number to those with which they now appeared.

Balboa had now before him objects equal to his boundless ambition, and the ardour of his genius: but previous arrangements and preparations were requisite to insure success. It was his primary object to secure the friendship of the neighbouring caziques; he sent some of his officers to Hispaniola with a large quantity of gold. By a proper distribution of this they secured the favour of the governor, and allured volunteers into the service. A considerable reinforcement from that island joined him, and with these he attempted a discovery.

The isthmus of Darien is not above sixty miles in breadth: this neck of land strengthened by a chain of lofty mountains,



stretching through its whole extent, binds together the continents of North and South America, and forms a sufficient barrier to resist the impulses of two opposite oceans. The mountains are covered with forests almost inaccessible. The low lands are marshy and frequently overflowed, so that the inhabitants find it necessary, in many places, to build their houses on trees, to avoid the damps from the soil, and the odious reptiles which breed in the putrid waters.

To march across this unexplored country with Indian guides, of whose fidelity they were doubtful, was the boldest enterprize undertaken by the Spaniards, since the first discovery of the New World. But the intrepidity and prudent conduct of Balboa surmounted every obstacle. With only one hundred and ninety men and some of those fierce dogs, which were no less formidable to their naked enemies, and one thousand Indians, he set out on this expedition in the year 1513.

No sooner did he begin to advance, than he was retarded by many obstacles which he had reason to apprehend, from the nature of the country, and the hostility of its inhabitants. Some of the caziques fled at his approach, with all their people to the mountains. Others collected their subjects in order to oppose his progress.

When they had penetrated a considerable distance into the mountains, a powerful cazique appeared in a narrow pass, with a numerous body of troops to oppose them. The Spaniards, who had surmounted so many obstacles, despised the opposition of such feeble enemies. They attacked them with such impetuosity, that the Indians gave way at the first onset, and many of them were slain; after which the Spaniards continued their march. Though their guide had told them it was but six days' journey across the isthmus, yet they had now been twenty-five days in forcing their way through the woods. Many of them were ready to sink under the fatigues they had undergone, and all began to be impatient to reach the period of their sufferings: at length the Indians assured them that from the top of the next mountain they could discover the ocean which was the object of their wishes.

When they had, with infinite toil, ascended the greater part of that steep ascent, Balboa commanded his men to halt, and he alone advanced to the summit, that he might be the first to behold a spectacle which he had so long been in quest of. As soon as he beheld the South Sea stretching in endless prospect below him, he fell on his knees, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, returned thanks to God, who had conducted him to a discovery so beneficial to his country, and so honourable to himself. His followers observing his transports, rushed forward and joined to his wonder, exultation and gratitude.

They descended with alacrity to the shore, and Balboa advancing up to his middle in the waves, with his buckler and sword, took possession of that Ocean, in the name of the king his master, and vowed to defend it against all his enemies.

That part of the great Pacific or Southern Ocean which Balboa first discovered, still retains the name of the gulf of St. Michael, which he gave it; and is situated to the east of Panama.

From several of the petty princes, who governed in districts adjacent to that gulf, Balboa extorted provisions and gold, by force of arms. Others supplied him voluntarily. To these acceptable presents some of the caziques added some valuable pearls: and he learned from them that pearl oysters abounded in the ocean he had discovered. The people on the coast of the South sea concurred in informing him that there was a mighty and wealthy kingdom situated eastwardly, the inhabitants of which made use of tame animals to carry their burdens. They drew upon the sand the figure of the Lamas or sheep which the Peruvians had taught to perform such services as they described.

Balboa led his followers back by a different route, that he might acquire a better knowledge of the isthmus. This route he found no less dangerous and difficult, than that which he had already taken. But being now elated with success, they surmounted every difficulty, and returned to Santa Maria in safety.

In this expedition none of Balboa's officers distinguished themselves more than Francisco Pizarro in opening a communication with those countries in which he afterwards acted such an illustrious part. The first care of Balboa was to send information to Spain of the discovery he had made, and to demand a reinforcement of a thousand men to attempt the conquest of that opulent country, of which he had been informed by the Indian natives.

The first account of the discovery of the New World did not excite greater sensations of joy than that of a passage being at last discovered to the great southern ocean, through which a passage to the East Indies, by a line to westward of the line of demarkation drawn by the Pope, seemed almost certain. Ferdinand now expected to come in for a share of the vast wealth that flowed into Portugal; his eagerness to obtain it made him willing to make greater efforts than Balboa required. But his jealous disposition, and the fatal antipathy of Fonseca, now bishop of Burgos, to every man of merit, who distinguished himself in the New World, were conspicuous.

Notwithstanding the merit and recent services of Balboa, Ferdinand was so ungenerous as to overlook those, and appointed Pedrarias Davilla governor of Darien. He gave him the command of fifteen large vessels and twelve hundred soldiers; these were fitted out with a liberality, at the public expense, which Ferdi-

hand had never displayed in any former armament, destined for the New World; and such was the ardour of the Spanish gentlemen to embark to a country where, as fame reported, they had only to cast their nets into the sea and draw out gold. Fifteen hundred of these accompanied Pedrarias: many more, had they been permitted, would have engaged in the expedition.

Pedrarias arrived at the gulf of Darien without any remarkable accident, and immediately sent some of his principal officers on shore to inform Balboa of his arrival, with the king's commission to be governor of the colony. Balboa received them with dignity. The fame of his discoveries had drawn so many adventurers from the islands, that he could muster four hundred and fifty men: with these hardy veterans, who murmured loud at the injustice of the king in superceding their governor, Balboa was able to have defeated the forces Pedrarias brought with him; but he submitted with implicit obedience to the commands of his sovereign, and received Pedrarias with all the deference due to his character.

The moderation of Balboa to which Pedrarias owed the peaceable possession of his government, did not screen him from the envy his merit had excited in the breast of the new governor. Pedrarias appointed a judicial inquiry to be made into his conduct, and imposed a considerable fine upon him for certain irregularities he had committed. Balboa felt his mortification sensibly in a place where he had held the chief command. Pedrarias could not conceal his jealousy of his superior merit, which gave rise to dissensions extremely prejudicial to the colony.

Balboa saw with concern, that the governor, by his ill-judged proceedings, retarded the execution of his favourite scheme, sent strong remonstrances to Spain against the imprudent government of Pedrarias, who had alienated the friendship of the natives from the Spaniards, by countenancing his troops to plunder and oppress them at pleasure. Pedrarias, on the other hand, accused him of having deceived the king by magnifying his own exploits, and the opulence and value of the country.

Ferdinand was now sensible he had acted imprudently in superceding the most active and enterprising officer in the New World, and to make Balboa some compensation, he appointed him Adelantado, or lieutenant governor, of the countries upon the South Sea, with very extensive privileges and authority. At the same time, he enjoined Pedrarias to support him in all his enterprizes, and to consult with him in any measures he himself pursued. But Ferdinand's power was not sufficient to eradicate that enmity which Pedrarias had for Balboa.

The interposition and exhortations of the bishop of Darien, produced a short-lived reconciliation; and Pedrarias agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Balboa. The first effect of their



concord was, that Balboa was permitted to make several excursions into the country. These were conducted with such prudence, as added to his reputation. Many adventurers resorted to him, and with the support of Pedrarias, he began to prepare for his expedition to the South Sea.

After surmounting many obstacles, he finished four brigantines; in these, with three hundred chosen men, (a force superior to that with which Pizarro afterwards undertook the same expedition) he was ready to sail towards Peru, when he received an unexpected message from Pedrarias, who began to dread the prosperity of a man, whom, (notwithstanding his late reconciliation) he envied and feared; and so violently did the passions of hatred, fear, and jealousy operate upon his mind, that, in order to gratify his vengeance, he scrupled not to oppose the orders of his sovereign, and defeat an undertaking of the utmost importance to his country.

Under false but plausible pretexs, he desired Balboa to put off his voyage for a short time, and to repair to Aela, in order that he might have an interview with him. Balboa, conscious of no crime, instantly obeyed the summons; but, no sooner had he arrived, than he was instantly arrested, by order of Pedrarias, whose impatience to satiate his revenge, did not suffer him long to languish in confinement. Judges were immediately appointed to proceed on his trial. Disloyalty to the king, and an intention to revolt against the governor, were the crimes he was accused of: sentence of death was pronounced; and notwithstanding the judges who passed it, seconded by the principal inhabitants of the colony, interceded warmly for his pardon, Pedrarias was inexorable: and to the sorrow and astonishment of the whole colony, they beheld the public execution of a man, whom they universally esteemed more capable than any who had command in America, of forming and executing great designs.

After the death of Balboa, several officers who had served under Pedrarias, entered in to an association to undertake a voyage of discovery. They persuaded Francisco Hernandez Cordova, a wealthy planter in Cuba, and a man of distinguished courage, to join with them in the enterprize.

Velasquez, governor of Cuba, approved of the design, and assisted in carrying it on; he and Cordova advanced money for purchasing three small vessels, and furnished them with every thing necessary, either for traffic or war. One hundred and ten men embarked on board of them, and sailed from Cuba, on the eighth of February, 1517. They stood directly west, relying on the opinion of Columbus, who uniformly maintained, that a westerly course would lead to the most important discoveries.

On the twenty-first day after their departure from Cuba, they saw land; which proved to be Cape Catoche, the eastern point

of that large peninsula projecting from the continent, which still retains its original name of Yucatan.

—As they approached the shore, five canoes came off, filled with people decently clad in cotton garments; an astonishing spectacle to the Spaniards, who had been accustomed to see nothing but naked savages, in all their former excursions. The natives, though amazed at the Europeans, invited them to visit their habitations, with the appearance of great cordiality. They landed accordingly; and as they advanced into the country, they were surprized at the sight of large houses built with stone. Notwithstanding their improvements in the arts of civilized life, above their countrymen, the Spaniards found them also more artful and warlike. For, though the cazique received Cordova with many tokens of friendship, he had placed a large body of his countrymen in ambush behind a thicket, who, upon a signal given by him, rushed out and attacked the Spaniards with great boldness, and in some degree of martial order.

At the first flight of their arrows, fifteen of the Spaniards were wounded. But the Indians were struck with such terror, by the sudden explosion of their fire arms, and so intimidated not only by them, but by the cross-bows, and other weapons of their enemies, that they fled precipitately; and Cordova was willing to leave a country, where he had met with such a fierce reception, carrying off two prisoners, together with the ornaments of a small temple, which he plundered in his retreat.

He continued to pursue a westerly course keeping the coast in view, and on the sixteenth day arrived at Campeachy. There the natives received them with more hospitality. They proceeded further along the coast, and discovered the mouth of a river at Pontonchon, some leagues beyond Campeachy. Cordova landed all his troops to protect the sailors, who were employed in filling their casks with water. The natives, nevertheless, rushed down upon them with such fury, and in such numbers, that forty-seven of the Spaniards were killed upon the spot, and but one man among them escaped unhurt. Their commander, though wounded in twelve different places, directed the retreat with prudence equal to the courage with which he had led them on to the engagement, and with much difficulty they regained their ships.

Nothing remained now but to hasten back to Cuba with their shattered forces. They suffered extremely for want of water, especially the wounded and sickly who were exposed to the heat of the torrid zone. Some of them died, and Cordova, their commander, expired soon after they landed in Cuba.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of this expedition, they had now discovered an extensive territory not far from Cuba; the circumstances related by the adventurers with exaggeration

natural to men desirous to spread the merits of their own exploits, were sufficient to raise romantic hopes and expectations. Great numbers offered to engage in a new expedition. Velasquez, eager to distinguish himself by some brilliant undertaking, as might entitle him to claim the government of Cuba, independent of the admiral, at his own expense fitted out four ships for the voyage. In these embarked two hundred and forty volunteers, among whom were several persons of rank and fortune.

The command was given to Juan de Grijalva, a young officer of distinguished merit and courage. He sailed from Cuba on the eighth of April 1518: they held the same course as in the former voyage; but the violence of the currents carried them farther south. The first land they made was the island of Cozumel, to the east of Yucatan: and without any remarkable occurrence, they reached Pontonchon on the opposite side of the peninsula.

The desire of revenging their countrymen who were slain there, as well as from policy, they were eager to land. But though they embarked all their troops, as well as some field pieces, the Indians fought with such courage, that the Spaniards gained the victory with difficulty.

From Potonchon they continued their voyage towards the west, keeping near the shore. During the day their eyes were constantly towards the land, with surprize and wonder at the beauty of the country, and the novelty of objects around them. Many villages were scattered along the coast, in which they could distinguish houses of stone that appeared white and lofty at a distance; one of the soldiers remarked that this country resembled Spain at a distance. Grijalva, with universal applause, called it **NEW SPAIN**, the name which still distinguishes this extensive and opulent province.

On the ninth of June they landed at a river which the natives called Tobasco, and the fame of their victory at Potonchon having reached this place, the cazique received them amicably, and bestowed presents upon them, of such value as inspired them with high ideas of the wealth and fertility of the country. These ideas were confirmed at the next place at which they touched; this was at the west of Tobasco, in the province since known by the name of Guaxaco. They were received with respect paid as to superior beings. The people perfumed them as they landed, with incense of gum copal, and offered them the most choice delicacies of their country: and in six days the Spaniards obtained ornaments of gold of curious workmanship to the value of fifteen thousand pesos, in exchange for European toys of small value.

As the Spaniards could not understand the language of the natives, they learned from them by signs that they were the subjects of a great monarch called Montezuma, whose dominion extended over that and many other provinces.



Leaving this place they landed on a small island which they called the island of Sacrifices; because there they beheld, for the first time, human victims which the natives had offered to their gods. Some of the officers contended that it was requisite to establish a colony in the country they had discovered. Grijalva judged it more prudent to return to Cuba. This was the most successful voyage the Spaniards had hitherto made in the New World.

Velasquez had been informed of the success of the enterprize by an officer despatched for that purpose by Grijalva, who immediately sent an account to Spain of the success of the voyage; without waiting for the orders of his sovereign, he prepared for another expedition. This terminated in conquests of greater moment than any they had hitherto achieved, and will be related in the next book. When Grijalva returned to Cuba, he found an armament in readiness to attempt the conquest of that country, which he had discovered. Ambition and avarice urged Velasquez to hasten his preparations; and the alluring prospect of gratifying both, made him cheerfully advance considerable sums from his private fortune, to defray the expense. Soldiers eager to embark in any daring enterprize soon appeared. The difficulty lay in finding a person fit to take the command.

Velasquez was solicitous to choose a commander intrepid, and one who possessed superior abilities; but at the same time from a jealousy natural to little minds, he wished him to be so tame and obsequious as to be entirely dependent upon his will. But he was soon convinced that it was impossible to unite such incompatible qualities in one person. Those who were conspicuous for courage, were too high spirited to be his passive tools; and those who appeared gentle and tractable, were deficient of the necessary qualifications requisite for such an undertaking. He deliberated long, and still continued irresolute until Amado de Lares, the royal treasurer in Cuba, and Andres Duero, his own secretary, in whom he placed great confidence, proposed Fernando Cortes, and supported their recommendation with such address and assiduity as proved successful. Cortes was born at Medellin, a small town in Estremadura, in the year 1485, and descended from a noble family; but of very moderate fortune. He was sent early by his parents to the university of Salamanca, where he made some progress in learning. An academic life not suiting his ardent and restless genius, he retired to Medellin, where he gave himself up entirely to active sports, and martial exercises. At this period of his life, he was so impetuous and overbearing, and so dissipated, that his father was glad to comply with his inclination, and sent him abroad as an adventurer in arms.

The Spanish youth who courted military glory, had an opportunity to display their valour either in Italy, under the command

of the great captain, or in the New World. Cortes preferred the former, but was prevented by indisposition from embarking with a reinforcement of troops sent to Naples. Then he turned his views towards America, where he hoped to advance himself under the patronage of Ovando, who was at that time governor of Hispaniola, and his kinsman. His reception was such as equalled his most sanguine hopes; and the governor employed him in several honourable and lucrative stations.

But his ambition was not to be satisfied with the moderate means of acquiring wealth or fame. It was in the stormy and active scenes of a military life, that he wished to distinguish himself.

With this view he requested permission to accompany Velasquez in his expedition to Cuba. In this service he acquitted himself so well, that notwithstanding some violent contests, occasioned by trivial causes, with Velasquez, he was at length taken into favour, and received an ample share of lands and Indians.

Though Cortes had not hitherto acted in high command, he had displayed such abilities in scenes of difficulty and danger, as raised universal expectation, and turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as one capable of executing great designs. The turbulence of youth, as soon as he found objects suited to the ardour of his mind, gradually subsided into a regular habit of indefatigable activity. The impetuosity of his temper, when he came to act with his equals, abated, and mellowed into a cordial soldierly frankness. These qualities were accompanied with calm prudence in concerting his schemes, and with persevering vigour in executing them; and what is peculiar to superior genius, the art of gaining the confidence, and governing the minds of men. To all which was added a graceful person, an insinuating address, extraordinarily alert in martial exercises, and a vigorous constitution, capable of enduring the greatest fatigue.

As soon as Cortes was mentioned to Velasquez by his two confidants, he flattered himself that he had found a man with talents for command, but not an object of jealousy. He concluded that his rank and fortune were not sufficient to inspire him with the hopes of independence. Several favours he had conferred upon Cortes; and by this new and unexpected mark of confidence, Velasquez hoped to attach him forever to his interest.

Cortes received his commission with the warmest expression of respect and gratitude to the governor, and immediately erected his standard before his own house, and assumed all the ensigns of his new dignity. He persuaded many of his friends to engage in the service, and to urge forward the preparations for the voyage. He mortgaged all his lands and Indians to procure money, which he expended in purchasing military stores and provisions, or in supplying such of his officers as were unable to equip themselves in a manner suited to their rank.

Inoffensive and laudible as this conduct was, his disappointed competitors were so malicious as to give it a turn to his disadvantage: they accused him of aiming, with little disguise, to establish an independent authority over his troops, and endeavouring to secure their respect and love, by an ostentatious display of his liberality. They reminded Velasquez of his former dissensions, with the man in whom he now reposed so much confidence; and predicted that Cortes would avail himself of the power which he was putting into his hands to avenge past injuries, rather than to requite late obligations. These insinuations made a powerful impression on the jealous mind of Velasquez.

Cortes soon observed a growing alienation and distrust in his behaviour, and was advised by his friends Lares and Duero, to hasten his departure, before these should become so confirmed, as to break out into open violence. Cortes, sensible of the danger, hastened his preparations with such rapidity, that he set sail from St. Jago de Cuba on the eighteenth of November; Velasquez accompanied him to the shore, and took leave of him with apparent friendship, though he had secretly given it in charge to some of his officers, to have a watchful eye upon every part of their commander's conduct.

Cortes proceeded to Trinidad, a small settlement on the same side of the island, where he was joined by several adventurers, and received a further supply of provisions and stores. He had hardly left St. Jago, when the jealousy of Velasquez grew so violent, as to be impossible for him to suppress it. Imagination now exaggerated every circumstance which had before excited suspicion: his rivals, by their suggestions, increased his fears, and called superstition to their aid, employing the predictions of an astrologer to complete their designs. All these united, produced the desired effect. Velasquez repented bitterly of his own imprudence, in committing a trust of such importance to a person, in whose fidelity he could no longer trust; and hastily despatched instructions to Trinidad, empowering Verdugo, the chief magistrate there, to deprive Cortes of his commission. But Cortes secure in the esteem and confidence of his troops, and finding they were zealous to support his authority: he, by soothing or intimidating Verdugo, was permitted to depart from Trinidad without molestation.

Cortes sailed for the Havanna, in order to raise more soldiers and complete the victualling of his fleet. There several persons of distinction entered into his service, and engaged to supply what provisions were wanting.

While this was doing, Velasquez availed himself of the interval, sensible that it would be improper to rely on a man of whom he had openly shown such distrust, made one attempt more to wrest the command out of the hands of Cortes. Anxious to



guard against a second disappointment, he sent a person, in whom he could confide, to the Havanna, with peremptory injunctions to Pedro Barba, his lieutenant governor in that colony, instantly to arrest Cortes, and send him prisoner to St. Jago under a strong guard : and to countermand the departure of the armament until he should receive further orders.

He also wrote to the principal officers, requiring them to assist Barba in executing what he had given him in charge. Fortunately for Cortes, a Franciscan friar of St. Jago had secretly conveyed an account of this interesting intelligence to Bartholomew de Olmedo, a monk of the same order, and who acted as chaplain to the expedition. This gave Cortes time to take precautions for his safety. He found some pretext to remove from the Havanna, Diego de Ordaz, an officer of great abilities, but whose known attachment to Velasquez, made it unsafe to trust him in this trying and delicate juncture. He therefore gave him the command of a vessel that was to proceed to a small harbour beyond Cape Antonio, and thus removed him from his presence, without appearing to suspect his fidelity.

When Ordaz was gone, Cortes informed his officers and soldiers who were equally impatient to set out upon the expedition, in preparing for which, most of them had expended all their fortunes. They expressed their astonishment and indignation at that illiberal jealousy, to which the governor was about to sacrifice the honour of their general, and all their sanguine hopes of glory and wealth. They all with one voice entreated him, not to abandon them, and deprive them of a leader whom they followed with such unbounded confidence, and offered to shed the last drop of their blood in maintaining his authority. Cortes was easily persuaded to comply with what he so ardently desired. He swore he would never desert soldiers, who had given him such a signal proof of their attachment, and promised instantly to conduct them to that rich country, which had been so long the subject of their thoughts and wishes.

This declaration was received with transports of military applause, accompanied with threats and imprecations against all who should presume to call in question the jurisdiction of their general, or obstruct the execution of his designs. Every thing was now ready for their departure. The fleet consisted of eleven vessels, the largest was one hundred tons burden, which was dignified with the name of admiral ; three of seventy or eighty tons, and the rest small open barks. On board of these were six hundred and seventeen men ; of which, five hundred and eight belonged to the land service, and a hundred and nine were seamen and artificers. The soldiers were divided into eleven companies, to each of which Cortes appointed a captain.

As the use of fire-arms among the nations of Europe, was

hitherto confined to a few battalions of disciplined infantry, only thirteen soldiers were armed with muskets, thirty-two were cross bow men, and the rest had swords and spears. Instead of their usual defensive armour, they wore quilted-cotton jackets; these had been found a sufficient protection against the weapons of the Indians. They had only sixteen horses, ten small field pieces, and four falconets,

With this slender and ill-provided train, did Cortes set sail to make war upon a monarch, whose dominions were more extensive, than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown. A large cross was displayed on their standards, with this inscription, "Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer." Thus, enthusiasm and avarice united in prompting the Spaniards in all their enterprizes.

So powerfully were Cortes and his companions, animated with both these passions, that no less eager to plunder the opulent country, to which they were bound, than zealous to propagate the Christian faith among its inhabitants, they set out with that confidence which arises from security of success, and certainty of divine protection.

Cortes steered directly for the island of Cozumel, which Grijalva had visited; there he had the good fortune to redeem Jerome de Aguilar, a Spaniard, who had been eight years a prisoner among the Indians. This man was perfectly acquainted with a dialect of their language, understood through a large extent of country, and who possessed besides, a considerable share of prudence and sagacity: and who proved extremely useful as an interpreter.

From Cozumel, Cortes proceeded to Tabasco, in hopes of meeting as friendly a reception from the natives, as Grijalva had; and of finding gold in the same abundance: but the disposition of the natives was entirely changed. After endeavouring in vain to conciliate their good will, he was constrained to have recourse to violence. Though the forces of the enemy were numerous, and advanced with extraordinary courage, they were routed with great slaughter, in several successive actions. The loss they sustained, and still more the astonishment and terror excited by the destructive effects of the fire-arms, and the dreadful appearance of the horses, humbled their fierce spirits, and induced them to sue for peace. They acknowledged the king of Castile as their sovereign, and granted Cortes a supply of provisions, with a present of cotton garments, some gold, and twenty female slaves.

The next place they touched at, was St. Juan de Ulua. As he entered the harbour, a large canoe, full of people, amongst whom there appeared two persons of distinction, who approached the ship with signs of peace and friendship. They came on board.

without fear, or shewing any symptoms of distrust, and addressed Cortes in a most respectful manner, but in a language unknown to Aguilar. Cortes was in the utmost perplexity at an event, which he instantly foresaw would be attended with very disagreeable consequences. But he did not remain long in this embarrassed situation. One of the female slaves, whom he had received from the cazique of Tabasco, was present at the interview: she saw the distress of Cortes, and the confusion of Aguilar; and, as she perfectly understood the Mexican language, she explained what they said in the Yucatan tongue. This woman, known afterwards by the name of Donna Marina, will make a considerable figure in the history of the New World: having been carried off a captive by some hostile party, after a variety of adventures, had fallen into the hands of the Tabascans, though formerly a native of the Mexican empire.

Though it was tedious and troublesome to converse by the intervention of two different interpreters, Cortes was so highly pleased, that he considered it in the transports of his joy, as a visible interposition of Divine Providence in his favour.

The two persons whom he had received on board his ship, were deputies from Pilpatoe and Teutile; the one governor of that province, under a great monarch, whom they called Montezuma; and the other, the commander of his forces there. They informed Cortes, that they were sent to inquire what were his views in visiting their coast and to offer him assistance if he stood in need, in order to continue his voyage. Cortes struck with the appearance of those people, as well as the tenor of their message, assured them in respectful terms, that he approached their country with the most friendly intentions: that he came to propose matters of great importance to the welfare of their prince and people, which he would unfold more fully in person to the governor and general.

Next morning, without waiting for an answer, he landed his troops, his horses and artillery; and began to erect huts, and fortify his camp. The natives, instead of opposing the entrance of those fatal guests into their country, assisted them in all their operations, with an alacrity of which they afterwards had good reason to repent.

Next day Pilpatoe and Teutile entered the Spanish camp with a numerous retinue; and Cortes treated them with that respect due to the ministers of a great monarch, and received them with much formal ceremony. He informed them that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos of Austria, king of Castile, the greatest monarch of the east: and was entrusted with propositions of such moment that he could impart them to none but the emperor Montezuma himself; and therefore required them to conduct him without delay into the presence of their master.



The Mexican officers could not conceal their uneasiness at a request which they knew would be disagreeable to their sovereign, whose mind had been filled with many disquieting apprehensions ever since the Spaniards had first appeared on their coasts. Before they offered to dissuade Cortes from his demand, they endeavoured to conciliate his good will, by entreating him to accept of certain presents, which, as humble slaves to Montezuma, they laid at his feet. These they introduced with great parade, and consisted of fine cotton cloth, of plumes of various colours, and of ornaments of gold and silver, to a considerable value; the workmanship was curious, and the materials rich.

The effect of these was very different to what they intended. Instead of satisfying the Spaniards, it increased their avidity, and rendered them so impatient of becoming masters of a country which abounded with such precious commodities, that Cortes could hardly listen with patience to the arguments of Pilpatoe and Teutile, to dissuade him from visiting the capital: and in a haughty and determined tone insisted on being admitted to a personal audience of their sovereign.

During this interview, some painters in the train of the Mexican chiefs, had been diligently employed in delineating upon white cotton cloth, figures of the ships and horses, the artillery, the soldiers, and whatever else appeared to them new and singular. When Cortes was informed that these pictures were to be sent to Montezuma; to render the representation still more animating and interesting, and make the impression more awful, he ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm, the troops in a moment formed in order of battle, the infantry performed such martial exercises, as were best suited to display the effect of their different weapons; the horse, in various evolutions, shewed their agility and strength; the artillery pointed towards the thick woods, which was in front of the camp, made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans looked on with silent amazement, at objects so awful, and above their comprehension. At the explosion of the cannon, many of them fled, some fell on the ground, and all were so much confounded at the sight of men, whose power, in their opinion, so nearly resembled the gods, that Cortes, with difficulty composed them. The ingenuity of the painters was put to the test, to invent figures and characters to represent things so new and extraordinary. Messengers were immediately despatched to Montezuma, with those pictures, and a full account of every thing that had passed since the arrival of the Spaniards; and by them Cortes sent a present of some European curiosities to Montezuma.

The Mexican monarchs, in order to obtain early information of every occurrence in all the corners of their vast empire, had posted couriers, or runners, at different stations along the prin-

capital roads, who relieved one another, at proper distances; by which method they conveyed intelligence with surprizing rapidity.

Though the capital of Montezuma was one hundred and eighty miles from St. Julian de Ulua, the presents to Cortes were carried thither, and an answer received of his demands in a few days. The same officers who had hitherto treated with the Spaniards, were employed to deliver this answer; but as they knew how repugnant the determination of their master was to the wishes of the Spanish commander, they would not venture to make it known, until they had first endeavoured to soothe and mollify him. They therefore renewed the negociation by introducing a train of a hundred Indians loaded with presents, sent him by Montezuma.

The magnificence of these presents exceeded any they had yet received, and raised their ideas of the wealth of the country, and the grandeur of the monarch. They were placed upon mats on the ground, in such order as shewed them to the greatest advantage. Cortes and his followers viewed with admiration, the various manufactures of the country: the cotton stuffs were of so fine a texture, as to resemble silk; pictures of animals, trees, and other natural objects, formed with feathers of different colours, disposed and mingled with such skill and elegance, as to rival the works of the pencil in beauty of imitation. But what principally attracted their attention, was two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold, representing the sun, the other of silver, an emblem of the moon; these were accompanied with bracelets, collars, rings, and other trinkets of gold, with boxes of pearls, precious stones, and grains of unwrought gold. Cortes received these with an appearance of profound veneration for the monarch by whom they were bestowed.

But when the Mexicans presuming upon this, informed him, that their master, though he desired him to accept of what he had sent, as expressive of that regard for the prince who had sent him; yet, at the same time informed him, that he would not give his consent that foreign troops should approach nearer his capital: or even allow them to continue longer in his dominions. Cortes declared in a manner more resolute and peremptory than formerly, that he must insist on his first demand, as he could not, without dishonour, return to his own sovereign, until he had been permitted to visit the prince, agreeably to his instructions.

The Mexicans were astonished, that any man should dare to oppose that will which they were accustomed to consider as supreme and irresistible: yet afraid of coming to an open rupture with such formidable enemies, prevailed with Cortes to continue in his present camp until further instructions from Montezuma.

The Mexican monarch had now no other choice, but either to receive Cortes as a friend, or oppose him openly as an enemy.

The latter was what might have been expected from a haughty prince in possession of such extensive powers; his authority unbounded, and his revenues considerable.

If he had assembled his numerous forces and fallen upon the Spaniards while encamped on a barren, unhealthy coast, without a single ally to support them, no place of retreat, and destitute of provisions, notwithstanding their superior discipline and arms, they must have all been cut off in such an unequal contest, or have abandoned the enterprize.

As the power of Montezuma enabled him to take this spirited part, his own disposition naturally prompted him to it. Of all the princes who had swayed the Mexican sceptre he was the most haughty, the most violent, and the most impatient of control. His subjects looked up to him with awe, and his enemies with terror. The former he governed with unexampled rigour, but they were impressed with an opinion of his capacity, that commanded their respect: over the latter he had spread such fear by the success of his arms, that they dreaded his power, and groaned under his tyranny. Though his talents were sufficient for the government of a state, so imperfectly polished as the Mexican empire, they were altogether inadequate to the present conjuncture: he was neither qualified to judge with discernment, nor to act with that decision necessary in such a trying emergency.

From the first account of the Spaniards appearing on the coast, he discovered symptoms of timidity and embarrassment: he deliberated with anxiety and hesitation, which did not escape the notice of his meanest courtiers. The perplexity and discomposure upon this occasion, and the general dismay that prevailed, was not altogether owing to the impression the Spaniards had made by the novelty of their appearance, and the terror of their arms. There was an opinion, if the account of the most authentic Spanish historians deserves credit, and almost universal among the Americans, that some dreadful calamity was impending over their heads, from a race of formidable invaders, who should come from regions towards the rising sun, to overrun and desolate their country.

As the Mexicans were more prone to superstition than any people in the New World, they were more deeply affected with the appearance of the Spaniards, whom they considered as the instruments destined to bring about the revolution which they so much dreaded. Under these circumstances it ceases to be incredible that a handful of adventurers should alarm the monarch of a great empire and all his subjects.

Notwithstanding, when Montezuma was informed that Cortes adhered to his original demand, and refused to obey his enjoining him to leave the country, in a transport of rage natural to a fierce prince, unaccustomed to opposition, he threatened to



sacrifice those intruding strangers to his gods. But instead of issuing orders to put his threats into execution, he summoned his ministers to confer, and offer their advice.

The Mexican council were satisfied with issuing a more positive injunction, requiring them to leave the country; but betrayed such timidity and infatuation, that they accompanied this order with a present of such value, as proved a fresh inducement to remain there. A variety of sentiments prevailed among the Spaniards; from what they had already seen, many of them formed such extravagant ideas, concerning the opulence of the country, that despising every danger and hardship, they were eager to attempt the conquest. Others estimating the power of the Mexican empire by its wealth, contended it would be an act of the wildest frenzy to attack such a state, with a small body of men, in want of provisions, unconnected with an ally, and already debilitated by the diseases of the climate.

Cortes secretly encouraged and applauded the advocates for bold measures, and cherished their romantic hopes: as such ideas accorded with his own, and favoured the execution of the bold schemes he had already formed.

As Velasquez had openly attempted to deprive him of his authority, he saw the necessity of dissolving a connexion which would obstruct and embarrass all his operations; and watched for a proper opportunity of coming to a final rupture with him. Having this in view, he assiduously laboured to gain and secure the esteem and affection of his soldiers.

Cortes availed himself of all opportunities to insinuate himself into their favour, by his affable manners, by well-timed acts of liberality to some, by inspiring all with vast hopes, and by allowing them to trade privately with the natives, he attached the greater part of the soldiers so firmly to himself, that they almost forgot that the armament had been fitted out by the authority and at the expense of another.

During these intrigues, Teutile arrived with the present from Montezuma, and, together with it, delivered the ultimate order of that monarch to depart instantly out of his dominions; and when Cortes, instead of complying, renewed his request of an audience, the Mexican turned from him abruptly, and quitted the camp, with looks and gestures which strongly expressed his surprise and resentment. Next morning the natives, who used to frequent the camp, to barter with the soldiers and bring provisions, absented; all friendly correspondence seemed now to be at an end, and it was expected every moment that hostilities would commence.

Although this might have been foreseen, yet it occasioned a sudden consternation among the Spaniards, which emboldened the adherents of Velasquez not only to murmur and cabal against

their general, but to appoint one of their number to remonstrate openly against his imprudence in attempting the conquest of a mighty empire, with such inadequate force ; and to urge the necessity of returning to Cuba, in order to refit the fleet, and augment their army.

Diego de Ordaz, one of his principal officers, who was charged with this commission, delivered it with soldierly freedom, assuring him that he spoke the sentiments of the whole army. Cortes heard him without any appearance of emotion. As he well knew the temper and wishes of his soldiers, he carried his dissimulation so far as to seem to relinquish his own measures, in compliance with the request of Ordaz, and issued orders that the army should be ready to embark the next day for Cuba.

No sooner was this known, than the disappointed adventurers exclaimed and threatened ; the emissaries of Cortes mingling with them inflamed their rage ; the ferment became general ; the whole camp was almost in open mutiny ; all demanding with eagerness to see their commander. Cortes was not slow in appearing : when with one voice, they expressed their astonishment and indignation at the orders which they had received. It was unworthy, they cried, of the Castilian courage, to be daunted at the first aspect of danger ; and infamous to fly, before an enemy appeared. For their parts they were determined not to relinquish the enterprize ; that they were happy under his command, and would follow him with alacrity through every danger : but if he chose to return to Cuba, and tamely give up all hopes of distinction and opulence, to an envious rival, they would instantly choose another general to conduct them in that path of glory, which he had not spirit to enter.

Cortes delighted with their ardour, took no offence at the boldness with which it was uttered ; the sentiments were what he himself had inspired ; and he was now satisfied that they had imbibed them thoroughly. He affected, however, to be surprised at what he heard, declaring that his order to prepare for embarking was issued from a persuasion that it was agreeable to his troops ; and from deference to what he had been informed was their inclination, he had sacrificed his own private opinion, which was firmly bent on establishing immediately a settlement on the sea-coast, and then on endeavouring to penetrate into the interior of the country : and, as he now perceived they were animated with the generous spirit which breathed in every true Spaniard, he would resume, with fresh ardour, his original plan of operations : not but that he should be able to conduct them in the career of victory, to such independent fortunes as their valour merited. Upon this declaration, shouts of applause testified their excess of joy.

Notwithstanding there appeared to be an unanimous consent to

this measure, there were those in the interest of Velasquez who secretly condemned it, but were obliged to stifle their real sentiments, to avoid the appearance of disaffection to their general, as well as the imputation of cowardice from their fellow soldiers. In order to give a beginning to the colony, he assembled the principal persons in his army, and by their suffrage elected a council and magistrates in whom the government was to be vested. The magistrates were distinguished by the names and ensigns of office. All the persons chosen, were firmly devoted to Cortes, and the instrument of their election was framed in the king's name, without any mention of their dependance upon Velasquez. The name which Cortes bestowed on the intended settlement was *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, that is, *The Rich Town of the True Cross*.

The first act of importance decided by the new council was the appointment of Cortes to the supreme jurisdiction, as well civil as military, over the colony. The soldiers with eager applause ratified their choice : the air resounded with the name of Cortes.

He now began to assume greater dignity, and exercise more extensive powers : formerly he acted only as the deputy of a subject ; but now as the representative of his sovereign. The adherents of Velasquez could no longer continue silent and passive spectators of his actions. They exclaimed openly against the proceedings of the council as illegal, and against those of the army as mutinous. Cortes instantly perceived the necessity of giving a timely check to such seditious discourses, by some prompt and vigorous measures ; arrested Ordez, Escudero, and Velasquez de Leon, the ringleaders of the faction, and sent them prisoners on board the fleet, loaded with chains.

Their dependants, astonished and overawed, remained quiet, and Cortes, more desirous to reclaim than punish his prisoners, who were officers of great merit, courted their friendship with such assiduity and address, that the reconciliation was perfectly cordial ; and never after on the most trying occasions did they attempt to swerve from their attachment to his interest.

Cortes having now rendered the union between himself and his army indissoluble, thought he might now quit the camp in which he had remained hitherto, and advance into the country. To this he was encouraged by an event both fortunate and seasonable. Some Indians having approached his camp in a mysterious manner, were conducted into his presence. These were deputies sent by the cazique of Zempoalla, a considerable town at no great distance. By them he gathered that their master, though a subject of Montezuma, was impatient of the yoke, and that nothing could be more acceptable to him than a deliverance from the oppression under which they groaned. On hearing this a ray of light and hope broke in upon the mind of Cortes. He saw that the great empire he was about to attack was not united, nor the sovereign



beloved. He concluded that the cause of disaffection could not be confined to one province, but that in other parts there must be malecontents, who being weary of subjection, and desirous to change, would be ready to follow the standard of any protector. Full of these ideas, he gave a most gracious reception to the Zempoallans, and promised soon to visit their cazique.

To perform this promise it was not necessary to alter the route he had already fixed for his march. Some officers whom he had employed to survey the coast, having discovered a village named Quiabislan, about forty miles to the northward, which, both on account of the fertility of the soil, and commodiousness of the harbour, seemed to be a more proper station for a settlement, than that where he was encamped. Cortes upon this information was determined to remove thither. Zempoalla lay in his way, where the cazique received him with gifts, and caresses, and with respect approaching almost to adoration. From him he learned many particulars with respect to the character of Montezuma, and the circumstances that rendered his dominion odious. He was a tyrant, the cazique told him, with tears, haughty, cruel, and suspicious; who treated his own subjects with arrogance, ruined the conquered provinces by exactions, and tore their sons and daughters from them by violence: the former to be offered as victims to his gods; the latter to be reserved as concubines for himself and his favourites. Cortes in reply to him, artfully insinuated that one of the great objects that induced the Spaniards to visit a country so distant from their own, was to redress grievances, and relieve the oppressed: thus having encouraged him to hope for his protection, he continued his march to Quiabislan.

Here he marked out ground for a town, the dwellings to be erected were only huts; but these were to be surrounded with fortifications. Every man in the army, officers and soldiers, put their hands to the work; Cortes himself setting the example. The Indians of Zempoalla and Quiabislan, lent their assistance; and this petty station, the parent of so many great settlements, was soon in a state of defence.

While they were engaged in this necessary work, Cortes had several interviews with the caziques of Zempoalla and Quiabislan, who had such a high opinion of the Spaniards, as to consider them a superior order of beings: and encouraged by the promises of Cortes, they ventured to insult the Mexican power: at the very name of which, they were accustomed to tremble. Some of Montezuma's officers having appeared to levy the usual tribute, and to demand a certain number of human victims, as an expiation of their guilt, in presuming to hold a correspondence with those strangers, whom the emperor had commanded to leave his dominions; instead of obeying the order, they made those officers prisoners, treated them with great indignity, and

threatened to sacrifice them to their gods. From this last danger they were delivered by Cortes, who testified the utmost abhorrence at the bare mention of such a barbarous deed.

The two caziques, having now committed an act of open rebellion, there appeared no hope of safety for them, but by attaching themselves inviolably to the Spaniards. They soon completed their union, by acknowledging themselves subjects of the Spanish monarch. Their example was followed by the Totonagues, a fierce people who inhabited the mountainous part of the country: and who offered to accompany Cortes with all their forces in his march towards Mexico.

Cortes, before he began his march from Zempoalla, resolved upon an expedient which has no parallel in history: he had the address to persuade his soldiers, that it would be attended with important benefit to destroy the fleet; that, by not allowing the idea of a retreat possible, and fixing their eyes and wishes on what was before them; he by this, could divert them from being inflamed by a mutinous spirit, which had, at sundry times, made its appearance, instigated by the partizans of Velasquez. With universal consent the ships were drawn ashore; and, after stripping them of their rigging and iron-work, they were broke in pieces. Thus, from a magnanimous effort, five hundred men voluntarily consented to be shut up in a hostile country, inhabited by powerful and unknown inhabitants; left without any other resource but their own valour and perseverance.

Cortes began his march from Zempoalla, on the sixteenth of August, 1519, with five hundred men, fifteen horses, and six field pieces. The rest of the troops, consisting of those who from age and infirmity, were unfit for actual service, he left as a garrison at Villa Rica, under the command of Escalante, an officer of merit and warmly attached to his interest. The cazique of Zempoalla supplied him with provisions, and with two hundred of those Indians, called Tamemes, whose office it was to carry burdens, and perform all servile labour. These were a great relief to the Spanish soldiers, as they not only eased them of their baggage, but also dragged along the artillery by main force. The cazique offered a considerable body of his troops, but Cortes was satisfied with four hundred, taking care to choose such persons of note, as might prove hostages for the fidelity of their master.

No material occurrence happened, until they arrived on the confines of Tlascala. The inhabitants of that province were a warlike people, and although they were implacable enemies of Montezuma, and had maintained an obstinate and successful contest against him, were not inclined to admit these formidable strangers into their territory. Cortes had hoped that their enmity to the Mexicans, and the example of their ancient allies,

the Zempoallans, might induce them to give him a friendly reception.

In order to dispose them to this, four Zempoallans, of great eminence, were sent as ambassadors, to request in Cortes' name, and in that of their eazique, that they would permit the Spaniards to pass through their country on their way to Mexico. But instead of a favourable answer which was expected, the Tlascalans seized the ambassadors, and without any regard to their public character, made preparations for sacrificing them to their gods. At the same time, they assembled their troops, in order to oppose those unknown invaders, if they should attempt to make their passage good, by the force of arms. Unaccustomed to any intercourse with foreigners, they were apt to consider every stranger as an enemy; and upon the least suspicion of hostility were easily excited to arms. They concluded from Cortes' proposal of visiting Montezuma, in his capital, notwithstanding all his professions to the contrary, that he courted the friendship of that monarch, whom they hated and feared. The Spaniards, from the smallness of their number, were objects of contempt; not having any idea of the superiority which they derived from their arms and discipline.

Cortes, after waiting some days, in vain, the return of the ambassadors, advanced into the territory of the Tlascalans. As the resolutions of a people who delight in war, are executed with no less promptitude than they are formed, he found troops ready in the field to oppose him. They attacked him with great intrepidity; and in the first encounter wounded some of the Spaniards, and killed two horses: a loss, in their situation, of great moment, because it was irreparable. From this specimen of the courage of his new enemies, Cortes saw the necessity of proceeding with caution. His army marched in close order; he chose his stations where he halted with attention, and fortified his camp with great care.

During fourteen days he was exposed to almost uninterrupted assaults; the Tlascalans advancing with numerous armies, and renewing the attack in various forms, with that valour and perseverance, to which the Spaniards had seen nothing parallel in the New World. But the account of battles must appear uninteresting when there is no equality of danger: and when the narrative closes with an account of thousands slain on one side, and that not a single person falls on the other.

The Spanish historians relate these combats with great pomp, and intermix incredible events; but they cease to command attention, when there was so great a disproportion between the parties. There were some circumstances, however, that merit notice, as they display the character of the natives, and of their conquerors. Though the Tlascalans brought into the field such



vast armies as appeared sufficient to have overwhelmed the Spaniards, yet they were never able to make any impression upon their small battalion. This is easily explained: though inured to war like all the other inhabitants of the New World, they were unacquainted with military order and discipline, and lost the advantage which they might have gained from their numbers, and the impetuosity of their attack, by their constant solicitude to carry off their dead and wounded: this was a point of honour with them, founded on a sentiment of tenderness natural to the human mind, strengthened by an anxiety to preserve the bodies of their countrymen from being devoured by their enemies.

Attention to this pious office occupied them during the heat of combat, broke their union, and lessened the force of the impression which they might have made by a joint effort. The imperfection of their offensive weapons rendered their valour of little avail. After three battles and many skirmishes and assaults, not one Spaniard was slain. Arrows and spears headed with flint, or the bones of fishes, and wooden swords, though destructive weapons among naked Indians, were easily turned aside by the Spanish bucklers, and could hardly penetrate the quilted jackets worn by the soldiers.

Though the Tlascalans attacked the Spaniards with fury, yet they seemed to be actuated by a barbarous generosity. They gave the Spaniards notice of their hostile intentions; and as they knew they wanted provisions, and imagined, like other Americans, that they had left their own country because it did not afford them subsistence; they sent to their camp a large supply of poultry and maize, desiring them to eat plentifully, because they scorned to attack an enemy enfeebled by hunger; as it would also be an affront to their gods to offer them famished victims, as well as disagreeable to themselves to feed upon such emaciated prey.

After the first onset, finding they could not put this threat into execution, and that notwithstanding the utmost efforts of their valour, that not one Spaniard was slain: they began to alter their opinion, and concluded they were a superior order of beings, against whom all human power could not prevail. In this extremity they consulted their priests, who, after many sacrifices and incantations, delivered this answer: "That as these strangers were the offspring of the sun, they were invincible only when cherished by his beams! but that at night, when his warming influence was withdrawn, they became like other men, and were easily subdued." Opinions less plausible, have gained credit with more enlightened nations.

In consequence of this, the Tlascalans acted in contradiction to one of their established maxims in war, and ventured to attack the enemy in the night, in hopes of destroying them, when weak

and off their guard. But Cortes had more discernment than to be surprized or deceived by the rude stratagems of an Indian army. The sentinels at the out posts, observing an uncommon movement in the Indian army, gave the alarm. In a moment the troops were under arms, and sallying out, dispersed them with great slaughter, without allowing them to approach the camp.

Convinced by sad experience their priests had deceived them, and satisfied that it was in vain to attempt to deceive, or vanquish such powerful enemies, their fierceness began to abate, and they were seriously inclined to peace. They were, however, at a loss in what manner they should address the strangers; what idea to form of their character, and whether to consider them as beings of a gentle or malevolent nature. There were circumstances in their conduct that seemed to favour each opinion. The Spaniards had constantly dismissed their prisoners with presents of European toys.

This appeared extraordinary to men who were used to carry on an exterminating war, and who sacrificed and devoured without mercy, their captives taken in battle. On the other hand, Cortes had cut off the hands of fifty of the natives who came to the camp with provisions, and whom he took to be spies. This contrariety of conduct occasioned that doubt and uncertainty which appeared in their address: "If," said they, "you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present to you five slaves, that you may drink their blood and eat their flesh. If you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes. If you are men, here is bread and fruit to nourish you." The peace was soon concluded; the Tlascalans yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in all his future operations. He took the republic under his protection, and promised to protect their persons and property from injury and violence.

The profound veneration of the Tlascalans, encouraged Cortes to insist upon their abandoning their own superstitions, and that they should embrace the Catholic faith. They were willing to acknowledge the truth and excellence of what he taught, but contended that their gods were divinities no less deserving of adoration, than the gods of the Spaniards: and earnestly requested him not to urge them any further upon a subject, with which they could not in any manner yield a compliance.

Cortes enraged at their obstinacy, was preparing to urge by force what he could not accomplish by persuasion; and was going to overturn their altars and throw down their idols, if father Bartholomew de Olmedo, chaplain to the expedition, had not checked his inconsiderate impetuosity. He represented the imprudence of such an attempt; and that religion was not to be propagated by the sword, nor infidels to be converted by violence;

that other weapons were to be employed in their ministry; that patient instruction must enlighten the understanding, and pious example captivate the heart, before men could be brought to embrace the great truths of the christian religion. That a monk in the sixteenth century, when the idea of toleration was unknown, and when the rights of conscience were little understood, should be among the first advocates against persecution, and appear in behalf of religious liberty, is really astonishing; and the mind is soothed with unexpected pleasure, to find such humane and liberal sentiments avowed in those dark ages of superstition.

The remonstrances of Olmedo had their proper weight with Cortes; he left the Tlascalans to the undisturbed exercise of their own rites, requiring only that they should desist from their horrid practice of offering human victims in sacrifice.

Cortes, as soon as the troops were fit for service, resolved to continue his march towards Mexico, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasive of the Tlascalans, who represented Montezuma as a faithless and cruel prince, who waited for an opportunity to destroy him.

Accompanied by six thousand Tlascalans, they, on the thirteenth of October, 1519, directed their course towards Cholula: Montezuma, who had at length consented to admit the Spaniards into his presence, informed Cortes that he had given orders for his friendly reception there. Cholula was a considerable town, and though only five leagues distant from Tlascala, was formerly an independent state: but had lately been subjected to the Mexican empire.

This was considered by all the natives as a holy place, the sanctuary of their gods, to which devotees resorted from every province, and a greater number of human victims were offered in its temple, than in that of Mexico.

It was strongly suspected that Montezuma, either from superstitious hope, that the gods would there revenge the insults with which the Spaniards every where treated them, or that he might have a greater certainty of success, as being under the protection of his gods. The event shewed these suspicions were not ill-founded.

Cortes, who had been warned by the Tlascalans to keep a watchful eye upon the Cholulans, though received into the town with much seeming respect and cordiality, soon observed several circumstances in their conduct, which excited suspicion. Two of the Tlascalans, who were encamped at some distance from the town, and who were not admitted by their ancient enemies within their precincts, found means to enter in disguise and informed Cortes that they observed the children of the principal citizens refiring in great haste every night, and that six children had been sacrificed in the chief temple; a rite that indicated the



execution of some warlike enterprize was near at hand. At the same time, Marina the interpreter, received information from an Indian woman of distinction, whose confidence she had gained, that the destruction of her friends was concerted; that a body of Mexican troops lay concealed near the town: that some of the streets were barricadoed, and in others pits and deep trenches were dug and slightly covered over, into which the horses might fall, that stones and missile weapons were collected on the tops of the temples, with which to overwhelm the infantry; that the fatal hour was now at hand, and their ruin unavoidable.

Cortes alarmed at this concurring evidence, secretly arrested three of the chief priests; from these he extorted a confession that confirmed the intelligence he had received. He therefore instantly resolved to prevent his enemies from effecting their designs: and to inflict such an exemplary vengeance, as would strike Montezuma and his subjects with terror.

The Spaniards and Zempoallans were drawn up in a large square, which had been allotted them for quarters, near the centre of the town: the Tlascalans had orders to advance; the magistrates and chief citizens were sent for under various pretexts, seized and confined. On a signal given, the troops rushed out, and fell upon the multitude who were destitute of leaders, and so much astonished that the weapons fell from their hands, while they stood motionless, incapable of defence. As the Spaniards pressed them in front, the Tlascalans attacked them in the rear. The streets were filled with bloodshed and death. The temples, which afforded a retreat to the priests, and some of the leading natives, were set on fire, and they perished in the flames. This scene of horror continued two days; at length the carnage ceased, after the slaughter of six thousand Cholulans, without the loss of a single Spaniard.

Cortes then released the magistrates, reproaching them bitterly for their intended treachery; declaring that as justice was now appeased, he forgave the offence; but required them to recall the citizens who had fled, and restore order in the town.

Such was the ascendancy which the Spaniards had acquired over these superstitious people, and so deeply were they impressed with an opinion that they were more than mortals, that they immediately obeyed the command. The city was in a few days re-peopled, who amidst the ruin of their sacred buildings yielded respectful service to the men who had embued their hands in the blood of their relations and friends.

From Cholula, Cortes advanced directly towards Mexico, which was only twenty leagues distant. As they passed through the country, the soldiers were greatly animated as they descended from the mountains of Chalco, across which the road lay: the vast plain of Mexico opened to their view. When they first

beheld this prospect, one of the most striking and beautiful on the face of the earth, when they observed fertile and cultivated fields, stretching farther than the eye could reach; when they saw a lake resembling the sea in extent, and discovered the capital city rising upon an island in the middle, adorned with its temples and turrets, the scene so far exceeded their imagination, that some were induced to believe the fanciful descriptions of romance were realized, and that its enchanted palaces and gilded domes were presented to their sight: others could hardly be persuaded that this wonderful spectacle was any thing more than a dream.

As they advanced, their doubts were removed, but their amazement increased. They were now fully satisfied that the country was rich, beyond what they had conceived; and flattered themselves that they should soon obtain an ample reward for all their services and sufferings.

As they approached near the city, several circumstances occurred which made them suspect that some design was formed to surprise and cut them off. No enemy however appeared; several messengers arrived successively from Montezuma, permitting them one day to advance, requiring them on the next to retire, as his hopes and fears alternately prevailed; and, so strange was this infatuation, that Cortes was almost at the gates of the capital, before the monarch had determined to receive him as a friend, or to oppose him as an enemy.

The Spaniards, without regarding the fluctuation of Montezuma's sentiments, continued their march along the causeway that led to the city, through the lake, with great caution, and the strictest discipline, though without betraying any symptoms of distrust of the prince, whom they were about to visit.

When they drew near the city, about a thousand persons, who appeared to be of distinction, came forth to meet them, adorned with plumes, and clad in garments of fine cotton. Each of these in his order, passed by Cortes, and saluted him according to the mode practised in that country: expressing the utmost respect and submission. They announced the approach of Montezuma himself; and soon after his harbingers came in sight.

There appeared first, two hundred persons in an uniform dress, with large plumes of feathers, alike in fashion, marching two and two in deep silence, and barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground. These were followed by a company of higher rank, in their most showy apparel: in the midst of these was Montezuma, in a chair or litter, richly ornamented with gold, and feathers of various colours; others supported a canopy of curious workmanship over his head, and four of his principal favourites carried him on their shoulders. Before him marched three officers, with rods of gold in their hands, which they lifted up at certain intervals: at which signal, all the people bowed

their heads and hid their faces, as unworthy to look on so great a monarch. When he drew near, Cortes dismounted; and, with great appearance of respect, saluted him in the European manner. At the same time, Montezuma descended from his chair, and leaning on the arms of two of his nearest relations, approached with a slow and stately pace: his attendants covering the streets with cotton-cloths, that he might not touch the ground. He returned the salutation of Cortes, according to the mode of his country, by touching the earth with his hand, and then kissing it. By this condescension of Montezuma, his subjects firmly believed that those persons, before whom he had humbled himself, were more than human.

This was confirmed afterwards; as they marched through the crowd, the natives, to the great satisfaction of the Spaniards, frequently were heard to call them Teules or divinities. Montezuma conducted Cortes to the quarters which he had prepared for his reception; and immediately took leave of him with a politeness, not unworthy of a court more refined. "You are now," said he, "with your brothers, in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The place allotted to the Spaniards by Montezuma, was a house built by the father of Montezuma: it was surrounded by a stone wall, with towers at proper distances, which served for defence as well as ornament; and was so large as to accommodate both the Spaniards and their Indian allies.

The first care of Cortes was to put the place in a posture of defence: he planted the artillery at every avenue which led to it; he appointed a large division of his troops to be always on guard; and posted sentinels at proper distances, with orders to observe the same vigilance, as if they were in sight of an enemy's camp.

In the evening, Montezuma returned to visit his guests, with the same pomp as at their first interview; and brought presents of such value, not only to Cortes and his officers, but even to the private men, as proved the liberality of the monarch, and the opulence of the kingdom.

A long conference ensued, in which Cortes learned what was the opinion of Montezuma, with respect to the Spaniards. He told him, that it was an established opinion among the Mexicans, handed down to them by tradition, that their ancestors came originally from a remote region, and conquered the provinces that were now subject to his dominion; that after they were settled there, the great captain who conducted them, returned to his own country; and promised, that at some future period his descendants should visit them, assume the government, and reform their constitution and laws; and that from what he had seen of Cortes and his followers, he was convinced they were the very



persons their traditions and prophecies had taught them to expect; and that he received them accordingly as relations of the same blood and parentage; and desired them to consider themselves as masters in his dominions: for both himself and subjects should be ready to comply with their will. Cortes replied in his usual style, with respect to the dignity and power of his sovereign, and his intentions of sending him into that country: artfully framing his discourse so as to coincide with the idea which Montezuma had formed concerning the origin of the Spaniards.

Next morning, Cortes and some of his principal attendants were admitted to a public audience of the emperor. The three subsequent days were employed in viewing the city; the appearance of which filled them with surprize and admiration. Mexico, (Tenuehtitlan, as it was anciently called by the natives,) is situated in a large plain surrounded by mountains of such height, that though within the torrid zone, the temperature of its climate is mild and healthful: all the moisture which descends from the high grounds is collected in several lakes: the two largest of which, of about ninety miles in circumference, communicate with each other; the waters of one are fresh, the other brackish: on the banks of the latter the capital of Montezuma's empire was built. The access to the city was by artificial causeways or streets, formed of stones or earth, about thirty feet in breadth. On the east was no causeway, and the city could only be approached by canoes. Not only the temples of their gods, but the houses of the monarch, and those of persons of distinction, in comparison with any other buildings which the Spaniards had seen in America, might be termed magnificent.

But how much the novelty of these objects might amuse or astonish the Spaniards, they felt the utmost solicitude with respect to their own situation. They were now lodged in the capital, in which they reckoned there were at least sixty thousand inhabitants: shut up, as it were, in a snare, from which it seemed impossible to escape; they were moreover assured by the Tlascalans, that Mexican priests had counselled their sovereign to admit the Spaniards into the capital, that they might cut them off at one blow with perfect security.

Although Montezuma had received them with distinguished respect, they had reason to doubt his sincerity: yet even if they could suppose it to be real, they could not depend upon it: as an order flowing from his caprice, or a word uttered in passion, might irrevocably determine their fate. These reflections made a deep impression upon the mind of Cortes.

Before he set out from Cholula, he had received advice from Villa Rica, that Quaalpopoca, one of the Mexican generals, having assembled an army in order to attack some of the people, whom

the Spaniards had encouraged to throw off the Mexican yoke; Escalante, with seven of his men, had been mortally wounded; he having, with part of the garrison, marched out to succour his allies; that one Spaniard had been surrounded and taken alive, and his head cut off, and sent in triumph to the different cities, and last to Mexico, to convince the people their invaders were not invulnerable.

Cortes, though alarmed with this intelligence, as an indication of Montezuma's hostile intentions, had nevertheless continued his march. But as soon as he entered Mexico, he became sensible that he had pushed forwards into a situation where it was difficult to continue, and from which it was dangerous to retire. Disgrace, and perhaps death, would be the certain consequence of the latter.

The success of the enterprize depended upon supporting that high opinion which the natives had formed with respect to the irresistible power of his arms: upon the first appearance of timidity on his part, their veneration would cease, and Montezuma would be encouraged to let loose upon him the whole force of his empire.

His situation was trying, but his mind was equal to it: and after revolving the matter with deep attention, he resolved upon a measure, the boldest and most daring that ever entered into the mind of man; which was no less than seizing Montezuma in his palace, and to carry him a prisoner to the Spanish quarters. This he immediately proposed to his officers. The timid were startled at a measure so audacious. The more intelligent and resolute warmly approved of it, conscious that it was the only resource in which there was any prospect of safety; and brought over their companions so cordially to be of the same opinion, that it was agreed instantly to make the attempt. At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes went to the palace, accompanied by Alvarado, Sandoval, Lugo, Velasquez de Leon, and Davilla, five of his principal officers, and as many trusty soldiers.

Thirty chosen men followed; not in regular order, but sauntering at some distance, as if their only object was curiosity; other small parties were posted at proper intervals, in all the streets leading from the Spanish quarters to the palace, and the remainder of his troops, with the Tlascalan allies, were under arms, ready to sally out on the first alarm. Cortes and his companions were admitted without suspicion, the Mexican attendants retiring out of respect. He addressed the monarch in a tone very different from that which he had formerly been accustomed to, reproaching him bitterly as the author of the violent assault, made upon the Spaniards by one of his officers, and demanded public reparation for the loss he had sustained, by the death of some of his companions, as well as for the insult offered to the great

prince, whose servants they were. Montezuma, confounded at this unexpected accusation, and changing colour, either from consciousness of guilt, or from feeling the indignity with which he was treated, asserted his own innocence with great earnestness; and as a proof of it, gave orders instantly to bring Quallipocca and his accomplices prisoners to Mexico. Cortes replied, that a declaration so respectable left no doubt on his own mind, but that something more was requisite to satisfy his followers, who would never be convinced that Montezuma did not harbour hostile intentions against them, unless, as a proof of his confidence and attachment, he removed from his own palace, and took up his residence in the Spanish quarters, where he should be served and honoured as became a great monarch.

This strange proposition at first bereaved Montezuma of speech and almost of motion. At length indignation gave him utterance, and he haughtily answered, "That persons of his rank, were not accustomed voluntarily to give up themselves as prisoners; and were he mean enough to do so, his subjects would not permit such an affront to be offered to their sovereign." Cortes, unwilling to employ force, endeavoured by turns to intimidate and soothe him. The altercation became warm, and having continued three hours, Velasquez de Leon, an impetuous and gallant young man, impatiently exclaimed, "Why waste more time in vain? let us either seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The threatening voice and fierce gestures with which these words were uttered, struck Montezuma. He was sensible the Spaniards had now proceeded too far to hope they would recede.

His own danger was imminent, the necessity unavoidable. He saw both, and abandoning himself to his fate, complied with their request. His officers were called, he communicated to them his resolution. Though astonished and afflicted, they presumed not to question the will of their master, but carried him in silent pomp, all bathed in tears, to the Spanish quarters.

When it became publicly known that the strangers were conveying away the emperor, the people broke out into the wildest excesses of grief and rage, threatening the Spaniards with immediate destruction for their impious audacity. But as soon as Montezuma appeared with a seeming gaiety of countenance, and waved his hand, the tumult was hushed; and upon his declaring it to be his own choice that he went to reside for a short time among his new friends, the multitude, taught to revere every intimation of their sovereign's pleasure, quietly dispersed.

Thus this powerful prince, at noon day, in the midst of his capital, was seized and carried off a prisoner, by a few strangers. When we consider the temerity of the attempt, and its successful execution, we can with propriety assert there is nothing in history



parallel to it : and were it not so well authenticated by the most unquestionable evidence, the whole narration would appear so wild and extravagant, as to go beyond the bounds of that verisimilitude which must be preserved even in fictitious publications.

Montezuma was received at the Spanish quarters with great ceremonious respect. He was attended by his own domestics. His principal officers had free access to him, and carried on all the functions of government, as if he had been at perfect liberty. He was, nevertheless, watched with all the scrupulous vigilance requisite in guarding such an important prize : from captive princes, the hour of humiliation and suffering is not far distant. Qualpopoca and his son, with five of the principal officers who had served under him, were brought prisoners to the capital, by order of Montezuma, and given up to Cortes ; who, after undergoing the form of trial by a Spanish court martial, and though they acted as brave and loyal subjects in obeying the orders of their sovereign, in opposing the invaders of their country, they were condemned to be burned alive.

The unhappy victims were instantly led forth. The pile on which they were laid was composed of the weapons collected in the royal magazine for the public defence. An innumerable multitude of Mexicans beheld, in silent astonishment, this fresh insult offered to the majesty of their empire : an officer of distinction committed to the flames, by the authority of strangers, for having done what he owed in duty to his sovereign : and the arms provided by their ancestors for avenging such wrongs, consumed before their eyes.

Cortes, convinced that Qualpopoca would not have ventured to attack Escalante without orders from his master, was not satisfied with the punishment of the instrument, while the author escaped with impunity. Just before Qualpopoca was led out to suffer, Cortes entered the apartment of Montezuma, followed by some of his officers, and a soldier carrying a pair of fetters ; and approaching the monarch with a stern countenance, told him, that the persons who were now going to suffer, had charged him as the cause of the outrage that was committed ; and that it was necessary that he likewise should make atonement for that guilt ; without waiting for a reply, he commanded his soldiers to clap the fetters on his legs. The orders were instantly obeyed.

The monarch, who had been accustomed to have his person acknowledged as sacred and inviolable, considered this profanation of it as a prelude to his death, broke out into loud lamentations and complaints. His attendants fell at his feet, and bathed them with their tears, bearing up the fetters in their hands with officious tenderness, to lighten their pressure.

When Cortes returned from the execution, he appeared with a cheerful countenance ; and ordered the fetters to be taken off.

As Montezuma's spirits had sunk with unmanly dejection, they now rose to indecent exultation, and he passed at once from the anguish of despair, to transports of joy and fondness, towards his deliverers. The spirits of Montezuma were now subdued. Cortes availed himself to the utmost of the power he had acquired over him.

Several Spaniards were sent in company with some Mexicans of distinction, as guides and protectors, to explore the different parts of the empire. While they were thus employed, Cortes, in the name of Montezuma, degraded some of the principal officers, whose abilities and independent spirit excited his jealousy; and substituted in their places, others more obsequious to his will.

There was yet wanting one thing to complete his security: he wished to have command of the lake, that he might ensure a retreat, should the Mexicans take arms against him. This Montezuma enabled him to accomplish. Cortes had given him a pompous description of those floating palaces that move on the water, without the aid of oars. Having thus excited Montezuma's curiosity, and under pretence of gratifying him, he persuaded the monarch to appoint some of his subjects to convey his naval stores from Vera Cruz to Mexico, and employed others in cutting timber: with this assistance, the Spanish carpenters soon completed two brigantines, which were considered by Cortes as a certain resource, if a retreat should be necessary.

This tame submission to his will, encouraged Cortes to put it to a proof still more trying. He urged Montezuma to acknowledge himself a vassal to the king of Castile, and to subject his dominions to the payment of an annual tribute. With this requisition Montezuma was so obsequious as to comply. The chief men of the empire were called together; he with great solemnity, reminded them of the traditions and prophecies which led them to expect the arrival of a people, sprung from the same stock as themselves, in order to take the supreme power into their own hands; he declared his belief, that the Spaniards were this promised race; and therefore he acknowledged their monarch as possessing the right to govern the Mexican empire; that he would lay his crown at his feet and obey him as a tributary. While Montezuma uttered these words, tears and groans interrupted his utterance; he still retained such a sense of dignity, as to feel that pang which touches the heart of princes, when constrained to resign independent power. The assembly were struck with astonishment, and a sullen murmur indicated their surprise and indignation; and threatened some violent eruption of rage to be near at hand. Cortes foreseeing this, seasonably interposed to prevent it, by declaring that his master had no intention to deprive Montezuma of his authority or royal dignity; or to make any alteration in the laws or constitution of

the Mexican Empire; this assurance, and the monarch's example, together with their dread of the Spanish power, extorted a reluctant consent from the assembly.

This act of submission and homage, was executed with all the formalities which the Spaniards were pleased to prescribe. Montezuma, at the instigation of Cortes, accompanied this submission with a magnificent present to his new sovereign; and his subjects, stimulated by his example, brought in very liberal contributions.

But however pliant Montezuma might be in other matters, with respect to his religion, he was inflexible. Though Cortes often urged him with the zeal of a missionary to renounce his false gods, and embrace the catholic faith, he always rejected the proposition with horror. Cortes was so enraged at his obstinacy, that in a transport of zeal he led out his soldiers to throw down the idols in the great temple by force. But the priests and people taking arms in defence of their altars, the zeal of Cortes was overruled by prudence, and induced him to desist from his rash attempt, after dislodging the idols from one of the shrines, and placing the image of the Virgin Mary in its place.

From that moment the Mexicans began to meditate how they might expel or destroy the Spaniards, and believed themselves called upon to avenge the insult offered to their gods. The priests and leading men held frequent consultations with Montezuma for this purpose. But as it might prove fatal to the captive monarch to attempt either the one or the other by violence, he was willing to try more gentle means. Having called Cortes into his presence, he observed that now, as all the purposes of his embassy were fully accomplished, the gods had declared their will, and the people were unanimous in their desire, that he and his followers should instantly depart out of the empire. With this he required them to comply, or unavoidable destruction would fall suddenly on their heads.

The tenor of this unexpected requisition, as well as the determined tone in which it was uttered, left Cortes no room to doubt, that it was the result of some deep laid scheme concerted between Montezuma and his subjects. He coolly replied, he had already begun to prepare for returning to his own country; but as the vessels in which he came were destroyed, some time was requisite for building other ships.

This appearing reasonable, a number of Mexicans were sent to Vera Cruz, to cut down timber; and some Spanish carpenters were appointed to superintend the work. Cortes flattered himself that during this interval, he should receive such reinforcements, as would enable him to despise every danger.

Nine months had now elapsed since Porto-carrero and Montigo had sailed with his despatches to Spain; he daily expected



their return with a confirmation of his authority from the king: without this his condition was insecure and precarious.

While he remained in this suspense, uncertain with respect to the future, and by the late declaration of Montezuma, oppressed with a new addition of cares, a Mexican courier arriving, informed him of some ships having appeared on the coast. Cortes elated with this intelligence, imagined they were reinforcements arrived to strengthen and forward his conquests: and that the completion of all his wishes and hopes was at hand: he imparted the glad tidings to his companions, who received them with transports of mutual congratulation. Their joy was short; a message from Sandoval, whom Cortes had made governor of Vera Cruz in the room of Escalante, brought certain intelligence that the armament was fitted out by Velasquez, governor of Cuba, and threatened them with immediate destruction.

The armament consisted of eighteen ships, which had on board fourscore horsemen, eight hundred foot soldiers, of which eighty were musqueteer, and a hundred and twenty cross-bow men, together with a train of twelve pieces of cannon. This force was commanded by Pamphilo de Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes, and his principal officers, and send them prisoners to Cuba, and then to complete the conquest of the country in his name.

Narvaez had landed his men without opposition, near St. Juan de Ullua. Three soldiers whom Cortes had sent to search for mines, deserted and joined Narvaez: by them he was informed of the progress and situation of Cortes: and as they had learned the Mexican language, were the more acceptable, as they would serve as interpreters. Narvaez having sent a summons to the governor of Vera Cruz to surrender, Guavara, a priest, whom he employed in that service, made the demand with such insolence, that Sandoval, an officer of high spirit, and zealously attached to Cortes, instead of complying with his terms, seized him, and his officers, and sent them prisoners in chains to Mexico. Cortes received them not as enemies, but as friends, condemning the severity of Sandoval, set them immediately at liberty.

By this well-timed clemency, seconded by caresses and presents, he gained their confidence, and drew from them such particulars concerning the force and intentions of Narvaez, as gave a view of the impending danger, in its full extent.

He had now to take the field against an army in courage and martial discipline equal to his own; in number far superior, commanded by an officer of known bravery.

Narvaez, more solicitous to gratify the resentment of Velasquez, than attentive to the honour and interest of his country, had represented Cortes and his followers to the natives, as fugitives and rebels, who had unjustly invaded the Mexican em-

pire; and that his sole object was to punish the Spaniards, and rescue them from their oppression. The same unfavourable representations had been conveyed to Montezuma.

Animated with the prospect of being set free from subjection to strangers, the provinces began openly to revolt from Cortes; and regarded Narvaez as their deliverer. Montezuma kept up a secret intercourse with the new commander, and courted his favour.

Such were the dangers and difficulties which presented themselves to the view of Cortes. No situation could be more trying. If he should abandon the capital, and set the captive monarch at liberty, and march out to meet the enemy, he must at once give up all the fruits of his toils and victory, and relinquish advantages which could not be recovered without infinite danger. The natural haughtiness of Narvaez precluded all hopes of succeeding by conciliatory measures.

After revolving every scheme with deep attention, Cortes fixed on that which was the most hazardous, but if successful, would be most honourable and beneficial to himself and his country. With decisive intrepidity, he in this desperate situation, determined to make one bold effort for victory under every disadvantage, rather than sacrifice his own conquests, and the Spanish interest in Mexico. But as it would have been indecent and impolitic to advance in arms against his countrymen, without first attempting to adjust matters by an amicable negociation: he employed Olmedo, his chaplain, to whose character the function was well suited, and who was possessed with such prudence and address as qualified him for secret intrigues, in which Cortes placed his chief confidence.

All terms of accommodation were rejected with scorn by Narvaez, who, by a public proclamation, denounced Cortes and his companions-rebels and enemies to their country. The intrigues of Olmedo were more successful: he had letters to deliver from Cortes and his officers, to their ancient friends and companions; these were accompanied with presents of rings and chains of gold, which inspired those needy adventurers with high ideas of the wealth that he had acquired, and envy of the good fortune of those who were engaged in his service. They declared for an immediate accommodation with Cortes; but Narvaez, upon discovering the inclination of the army towards an accommodation, irritated his violent temper almost to madness. In a transport of rage, he set a price upon the head of Cortes, and his principal officers, and having learned that he was now advanced within a league of Zempoalla with his small body of men, he considered this such an insult, as merited immediate chastisement, and marched out with all his troops to offer him battle.

Cortes was a leader of greater abilities and experience than to

fight an enemy so far superior in number on equal ground. Having stationed his army on the opposite bank of the river de Canoas, where he was safe from any attack, he beheld the approach of the enemy without concern, and disregarded this vain bravado. The wet season had set in, and the rain had poured down during a great part of the day, with a violence peculiar to the Torrid Zone.

The followers of Narvaez, unaccustomed to the severity of a military life, murmured at being thus fruitlessly exposed: this, together with the contempt he had of his enemy, induced him to permit them to retire to Zempoalla. The very circumstance that made them quit the field, encouraged Cortes to form a scheme by which he hoped at once to terminate the war. His hardy veterans, though standing under the torrents, without a single tent, or any shelter to cover them, were so far from repining at hardships which were become familiar to them, that they were still fresh and alert for service. He knew that the enemy would give themselves up to repose after their fatigue, and deem themselves perfectly secure at a season so unfit for action. He resolved therefore to surprize them by an unexpected attack in the night. His soldiers, knowing that there was no resource but in some desperate effort of courage, approved of the measure with such warmth, that Cortes, in an oration which he delivered to them, was more careful to temper than to inflame their ardour.

He divided them into three parties: Sandoval commanded the first; this gallant officer was entrusted with the most dangerous and important service, that of seizing the enemy's artillery, which was planted before the principal towers of the temple, where Narvaez had fixed his head quarters. Christoval de Olid commanded the second, with orders to assault the tower and lay hold on the general. Cortes himself conducted the last and smallest division, which was to act as a body of reserve, and to support the other two as there should be occasion.

Having passed the river de Canoas, which was so swelled with the rains, that the water reached their chins, they advanced in profound silence, each man armed with his sword, his dagger, and his Chinantlan spear. Narvaez, remiss in proportion to his security, had posted only two sentinels to watch the motions of an enemy, whom he had such good cause to dread. One of these was seized by the advance guard of Cortes's troops, the other made his escape, and hurrying to the town, spread the alarm of the enemy's approach, so that there was full time to prepare for their reception. But through the arrogance and infatuation of Narvaez, the important interval was lost. He charged the sentinel with cowardice, and treated with derision the idea of being attacked by forces so unequal to his own. The shouts of Cortes's soldiers, however, convinced him at last of his mistake.



The rapidity with which they advanced was such that they fired but one cannon, before Sandoval's party closed with them, and drove them from their guns, and had begun to force their way up the steps of the tower. Narvaez, as brave in action as presumptuous in conduct, armed himself in haste, and by his voice and example endeavoured to animate his men to the combat. Olid advanced to sustain his companions; and Cortes himself, rushing to the front, conducted and added new vigour to the attack. The compact order of this small body, and the impenetrable front they presented with their long spears, bore down all opposition.

They had now reached the gate, and as they were endeavouring to force it open, a soldier set fire to the reeds with which the tower was covered, and forced Narvaez to sally out. In the first encounter he was wounded in the eye, with a spear, and falling to the ground, he was in a moment clapped in fetters.

The shout of victory resounded among the troops of Cortes. Those who had sallied out with their leader, feebly maintained the conflict, or began to surrender. Terror and confusion prevailed. Their own artillery was pointed against them: wherever they turned their eyes, they beheld with astonishment, lights gleaming through the obscurity of the night; which, although proceeding from what is now well known by the name of the fire-fly, which abound in sultry climates, their affrighted imaginations represented as numerous bands of musketeers, advancing with lighted matches to the attack. After a short resistance, the soldiers compelled their officers to capitulate: and before morning all had laid down their arms, and quietly submitted to their conquerors.

This complete victory was the more acceptable, as it was gained with little bloodshed: only two of the soldiers of Cortes being slain: as were also two officers and fifteen privates of the adverse party. Cortes treated the vanquished as friends; offered to send them immediately back to Cuba, or take them into his service, as partners of his fortune, and on the same terms as his own soldiers. They eagerly embraced the latter proposal, and vied with each other in professions of fidelity and attachment to a general, who had given such a convincing proof of his abilities for command.

Cortes was now placed at the head of a thousand Spaniards, eager to follow wherever he should lead them. Doubly fortunate was this victory for Cortes, as he received intelligence a few days afterwards, that the Mexicans had destroyed his brigantines, and had fallen upon the small party he had left with Alvarado. Had reduced to ashes their magazine of provisions, and carried on hostilities, with such fury, that although the Spaniards

defended themselves with uncommon bravery, yet without succour they must soon have been cut off by famine, or sink under the multitude of their enemies.

The Mexicans had flattered themselves, that now when their invaders were divided was the time to deliver themselves from the odious dominion of strangers, and release their sovereign. Alvarado, though a gallant officer, had not that capacity and dignity of manners, by which Cortes had acquired such an ascendancy over the minds of the natives. Instead of employing address to disconcert the plan or soothe the spirits of the Mexicans, he waited the return of one of their solemn festivals, and when the principal persons of the empire were dancing in the court of the great temple, he seized all the avenues which led to it, and allured partly by the rich ornaments which they wore in honour of their gods, partly by the facility of cutting off at once the authors of a conspiracy which he dreaded, he fell upon them unarmed and unexpected, and massacred a great number, those only escaping who made their way over the battlements of the temple.

This treacherous and cruel action filled the city and the whole empire, with indignation and rage. All called aloud for vengeance; and regardless of the life or safety of their monarch, or of their own danger in assaulting an enemy, who had been so long the object of their terror, they committed all those acts of violence of which Cortes had received an account.

To him the danger appeared so imminent as to admit of no delay. He set out instantly with all his forces. At Tlascala he was joined by two thousand chosen warriors. On entering the Mexican territories, he found disaffection to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital. The principal inhabitants had deserted the towns through which he passed; no person of note appeared to meet him with the expected respect; no provision made for the subsistence of his troops, as usual; and though he was permitted to advance without opposition, solitude and silence reigned in every place; a deep rooted antipathy had taken place, which excited the most just alarm.

Notwithstanding their enmity was become so implacable, they knew not how to take proper measures for their own safety, or the destruction of their enemies. Instead of breaking down the bridges and causeways, by which they might have enclosed Alvarado and his party, and stopped the career of Cortes, they again suffered him to march quietly; and on the twenty-fourth of June, 1520, he took peaceable possession of his former quarters.

The transports of joy, with which Alvarado received Cortes and his companions, cannot be described; but the general seemed to have forgotten that sagacity and caution, which had hitherto

accompanied him. He not only neglected to visit Montezuma, but added expressions full of contempt for that prince and his people.

The forces of which he had now the command, appeared to him irresistible; so that he began to assume a higher tone, and lay aside the mask of moderation, under which he had hitherto concealed his designs. Some Mexicans who understood the Spanish language, reported the contemptuous words and conduct of Cortes, to their countrymen, which renewed their rage. They resumed their arms, with additional fury, and attacked a body of Spaniards, as they were marching to the great square, where the public market was held; who were compelled to retire with loss. Delighted to find that their oppressors were not invincible, they advanced next day with extraordinary martial pomp, to assault the Spanish quarters.

Their number was formidable, and their courage great. Though the artillery was pointed against them, when they were crowded in narrow streets, and swept off multitudes at every discharge, their impetuosity did not abate. Their broken ranks were continually filled up with fresh men; these were succeeded by others no less intrepid and eager on vengeance.

The abilities and experience of Cortes, seconded by the disciplined valour of his troops, was hardly sufficient to defend the fortifications, into which the enemy were several times on the point of entering.

Some immediate and extraordinary effort was now requisite to extricate themselves out of their present situation. As soon as the evening induced the Mexicans to retire, in compliance with their custom of ceasing from hostilities with the setting sun, Cortes began to prepare for a sally, with such a force as might either drive the enemy out of the city, or compel them to listen to terms of accommodation.

He conducted in person the troops destined for this important enterprize. Every invention known at that time in the European art of war, as well as every precaution, suggested by his long experience in the Indian mode of fighting, were employed to ensure success. The enemy he found ready prepared, and determined to oppose him. The force of the Mexicans was greatly increased by fresh troops which poured in continually from the country. Led by their nobles, inflamed by their priests, and fighting in defence of their families, under the eye, as they judged, of their gods, they made a desperate resistance, and fought with enthusiastic ardour, in contempt of danger and death. Wherever the Spaniards could close with them, the superiority of their arms and discipline, obliged the natives to give way; but, in the narrow streets, and where the bridges of communication were broken down, they could seldom come to a fair



encounter, and the Spaniards, as they advanced, were exposed to showers of arrows and stones from the tops of the houses.

After a day of incessant exertion, though vast numbers of the Mexicans fell, and part of the city was burned, the Spaniards, weary with the slaughter, were at length disposed to retire, with the mortification of having accomplished nothing so decisive, as to compensate for the loss of twelve soldiers killed, and sixteen wounded : another sally was made with greater force, but with no better success ; and in it the general was wounded in the hand. Cortes perceived when it was too late, his error in treating with contempt, the Mexicans. He became sensible that he could neither maintain his present station in the city, or retire from it without imminent danger. There was, however, one resource left : Montezuma was still in his power.

When the Mexicans approached next morning to renew the assault, that unfortunate prince, was reduced to the sad necessity of becoming the instrument of his own disgrace ; he advanced to the battlements in his royal robes, and with all the pomp in which he used to appear on solemn occasions. At the sight of their sovereign, the weapons dropped from their hands, every tongue was silent and all bowed their heads, and many prostrated themselves on the ground. He tried to assuage their rage by every soothing argument. When he had ended his discourse, a sullen murmur ran through the crowd ; to this succeeded reproaches and threats ; and their fury rising in a moment above every restraint and respect, flights of arrows and volleys of stones, poured in so violently from the ramparts, that before the Spanish soldiers had time to shield Montezuma with their bucklers, two arrows wounded the unhappy monarch, and a stone which struck him on the temple, brought him to the ground.

On seeing him fall, the Mexicans were so much astonished, that they passed in a moment from one extreme to another ; remorse succeeded to insult, and they fled with terror, as if the vengeance of heaven was pursuing them for the crime which they had committed. The Spaniards without molestation carried Montezuma to his apartments ; and Cortes hastened thither to console him under his affliction. But the haughty spirit of that unhappy monarch, which seemed to have been long extinct, returning, he seemed to survive this last humiliation, and protract a life of ignominy. In a transport of rage, he tore the bandages from his wounds, and obstinately refused to take any nourishment, that his wretched days might be soon ended : rejecting with disdain all the solicitations of the Spaniards to embrace the christian faith.

The fate of Montezuma, deprived Cortes of all hopes of bringing the Mexicans to any accommodation ; and he saw no hopes of safety, but in attempting a retreat ; and he began to prepare

for it. But a sudden motion of the Mexicans, involved him in fresh difficulties. They took possession of a high tower of the great temple, which overlooked the Spanish quarters, and placing there some of their principal warriors, not a Spaniard could stir without being exposed to their missile weapons.

From this post it was necessary, at every hazard to dislodge them, and Juan de Escobar with a numerous detachment of chosen soldiers was ordered to make the attack. But Escobar, though a gallant officer, and at the head of troops accustomed to conquer, was thrice repulsed. Cortes sensible that the reputation and safety of his army depended upon this assault, ordered a buckler to be tied to his arm, as he could not manage it with his wounded hand, and rushed with his drawn sword into the thickest of the combatants. Encouraged by the presence of their general, the Spaniards returned to the charge with such vigour, that they gradually forced their way up the steps, and drove the Mexicans to the platform at the top of the tower, there a dreadful carnage began, when two young Mexicans of high rank, observing Cortes as he animated his soldiers by his voice and example, generously resolved to sacrifice their own lives, that they might cut off the author of all their calamities.

They approached him in a suppliant posture, as if they intended to lay down their arms, and seizing him in a moment, hurried him towards the battlements, over which they threw themselves headlong in hopes of dragging him along with them, to be dashed in pieces by the same fall. But Cortes by his strength and agility, disengaged himself from the grasp, and the gallant youths perished in this unsuccessful attempt to save their country. The Spaniards after they became masters of the tower, set fire to it, and without further molestation continued their preparations for their retreat.

The point to be determined upon was, whether they should march out openly in the face of day, or whether they should retire secretly in the night! The latter was preferred. They began to move towards midnight, in three divisions. Sandoval led the van; Pedro Alvarado and Velasquez de Leon, conducted the rear; and Cortes commanded in the centre, where he placed the prisoners; among whom were a son and two daughters of Montezuma, together with several Mexicans of distinction, the artillery, baggage, and a portable bridge of timber, to be laid over the breaches in the causeway. They marched in profound silence along the causeway, which led to Tacuba. They reached the first breach in it without disturbance, hoping their retreat was undiscovered. But the Mexicans unperceived had watched their motions and had made proper dispositions, for a formidable attack.

While the Spaniards were employed in placing their bridge, and conducting their horses and artillery, along the causeway,

they were suddenly alarmed with the tremendous sound of warlike instruments, and a general shout from an innumerable multitude of their enemies.

The lake was covered with canoes; and flights of arrows and other missile weapons, poured in from every quarter: the Mexicans rushing forward with fearless impetuosity. Unfortunately the wooden bridge was wedged by the weight of the artillery so fast into the stones and mud that it was impossible to remove it.

Dismayed at this accident, the Spaniards advanced to the second breach with precipitation. The Mexicans hemmed them in on every side; and though they defended themselves with their usual courage, crowded as they were, their military skill was of little avail, nor did the obscurity of the night permit them to derive any great advantage from the use of their fire-arms, or the superiority of their other weapons. All Mexico was now in arms, eager on the destruction of their oppressors. Those who were not near enough to annoy them in person, impatient of delay, drove on their countrymen in front with irresistible violence. Other warriors instantly filled the place of those who fell. The Spaniards weary with slaughter, and unable to sustain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, began to give way. In a moment the confusion was universal; horse and foot, officers and soldiers, friends and enemies, were mingled together; and while all were engaged, and many fell, they could hardly distinguish from what hand the blow came. Cortes with about one hundred foot soldiers, and a few horse, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the causeway: the bodies of the dead served to fill up the chasms, and reached the main land.

Having formed them as soon as they arrived, he returned with such as were capable of service, to assist his friends in their retreat, and to encourage them by his presence and example, to persevere in attempting their escape. He met with part of his soldiers, who had broke through the enemy, but found many more overwhelmed by the multitude of their aggressors, or perishing in the lake: and heard the piteous lamentations of others, whom the Mexicans having taken alive, were carrying off in triumph to be sacrificed to the god of war. Before day all who had escaped assembled at Tacuba.

But when the morning dawned, and discovered to the view of Cortes his shattered forces reduced to less than half their number: the survivors dejected, and most of them covered with wounds, the thoughts of what they had suffered, and the remembrance of so many faithful friends, and gallant men, who had fallen the preceding night, pierced his soul with such anguish, that while he was forming their ranks, and giving some necessary orders, the soldiers observed the tears trickle down his cheeks; and remarked with much satisfaction, that while attentive to his duty as general, he was not insensible to the feelings of a man.



In this fatal retreat, many officers of distinction perished, and amongst these Velasquez de Leon, who had joined himself to Cortes in opposition to the interest of his kinsman the governor of Cuba, and who was respected as the second person in the army. All the artillery, baggage and ammunition were lost, and according to the best account above six hundred private men, and about two thousand Tlascalans, were killed, and only a very small portion of the treasure they had amassed was saved.

It was, notwithstanding, some consolation, that Aguilar and Marina had made their escape; their functions as interpreters rendered them of essential service.

The first care of Cortes was to find some shelter for his wearied troops; the people of Tacuba had begun to take arms, and the Mexicans continued to infest them on every side, so that he could no longer continue in his present station. He fortunately discovered a temple on a rising ground, which he took possession of, he found the shelter he wanted, and also some provisions to refresh his men.

During his stay here, he was engaged in deep consultation with his officers, concerning the route which they should take in their retreat. A Tlascalan soldier undertook to be their guide: Tlascala, the only place where they could hope to receive a friendly reception, lay sixty-four miles to the east of Mexico; towards this place they shaped their course; they marched six days with little respite, and under continual alarms, through a country, in some places marshy and some mountainous, numerous bodies of Mexicans hovering around them; sometimes harrassing them at a distance, and sometimes attacking them openly in front, in rear, and in flank, with great boldness; and as they were now convinced that they were not invincible.

These were not all the evils they had to undergo: the country through which they passed was barren, yielding but little provisions; they were therefore reduced to feed upon such berries and roots as they could find by the way. At the very time when famine was depressing their spirits, and wasting their strength, their situation required the most vigorous and unremitting exertions of courage and activity. One circumstance alone animated the Spaniards; their commander sustained the sad reverse of fortune with unshaken magnanimity. His presence of mind never forsook him: his sagacity saw and provided for every event; he was foremost in every danger, and endured every hardship with cheerfulness.

The difficulties with which he was surrounded, seemed to call forth new talents; and his soldiers, though despairing themselves, continued to follow him with increasing confidence in his abilities.

On the sixth day they reached Otumba, not far from the road leading from Mexico to Tlascala. Early next morning they be-

gan to advance towards it ; flying parties of the enemy still hanging on their rear : and amidst the insults which they uttered, Marino remarked that they often exclaimed with exultation, “ Go on robbers : go to the place where you shall quickly meet the vengeance due to your crimes.” The meaning of this threat they understood, when they had reached the summit of an eminence before them. There a spacious valley opened to their view, covered with a vast army, extending as far as the eye could reach.

The Mexicans had assembled their principal force in this place, through which they knew Cortes must pass. At the sight of this incredible multitude, the Spaniards began to despair. But Cortes, without allowing their fears to gather strength by reflection, after warning them that no alternative now remained but to conquer or die, led them instantly to the charge. The Mexicans awaited their approach with unusual fortitude.

Such, however, was the superiority of the Spanish discipline and arms, that the impression of this small body was irresistible ; and which ever way its force was directed, it penetrated and dispersed the most numerous battalions. But while they gave way in one quarter, new combatants advanced from another ; and, though the Spaniards were successful in every attack, yet were they ready to sink under those repeated efforts, without seeing any end to their toil, or any hope of victory.

At that time Cortes observed the great standard of the empire, which was carried before the Mexican general, advancing ; and fortunately recollecting to have heard, that on the fate of it depended the event of every battle ; he assembled a few of his bravest officers, whose horses were still capable of service, and placing himself at their head, pushed forward towards the standard with an impetuosity that bore down every thing before it. A chosen body of nobles, who guarded the standard, made some resistance, but were soon broken. Cortes, with a stroke of his lance, wounded the Mexican general, and threw him to the ground : one of his followers dismounting, put an end to his life and laid hold of the imperial standard.

The moment that their leader fell, and the standard, to which all turned their eyes, disappeared, the Mexicans, as if the bond which held them together had been dissolved, threw away their weapons and fled with precipitation to the mountains. The Spaniards unable to pursue them far, returned to take the spoils of the field, which were so valuable, as to be some compensation for the wealth which they had lost in Mexico. The principal warriors in the enemy’s army, had been dressed out in their richest ornaments, expecting that they were marching to certain victory.

Next day to their great joy, they entered the Tlascalan territories. Happily for them, the enmity of the Tlascalans to the

Mexican name was so inveterate, and their desire to avenge the death of their countrymen so vehement, that far from taking advantage of the distressed situation in which they beheld the Spaniards, they received them with a tenderness and cordiality, which quickly renewed all their former confidence.

Some interval of tranquility and indulgence was now absolutely necessary, that the soldiers might give attention to the cure of their wounds, which had been too long neglected, as well as to recruit their strength. Cortes had still a body of troops equal in number to that with which he had penetrated into the centre of the Mexican empire, and taken possession of the capital; his experience of the natives, and knowledge of the country, inspired him with hopes of quickly recovering all that he had been deprived of by the late events.

His attention to court the Tlascalan chiefs was one of his first measures: he distributed among them so liberally of the rich spoils of Otumba, that he was secure of obtaining whatever he should require of the republic. He drew a small supply of ammunition, and two or three field pieces from his stores at Vera Cruz. He despatched an officer of confidence with four ships of Narvaez's fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to engage adventurers, and to purchase horses, gunpowder, and other military stores. As he knew it would be in vain to attempt the conquest of Mexico unless he had the command of the lake, he gave orders to prepare in the forests of Tlascala, materials for building twelve brigantines, so as they might be carried in pieces ready to be put together, and launched when necessary.

But while he was thus taking measures towards the execution of his design, an obstacle arose in a quarter where it was least expected. The spirit of discontent broke out in his own army. The followers of Narvaez bitterly repented their choice; happy in having made their escape in the perilous retreat from Mexico, trembled at the thoughts of being exposed a second time to similar dangers. As soon as they discovered the intention of Cortes, they began secretly to murmur and cabal; and growing gradually more audacious, they in a body offered a remonstrance to their general, against the imprudence of attacking a powerful empire with his shattered forces; and formally required him to lead them back directly to Cuba.

Cortes with all his skill in the arts of command: neither argument, entreaties or presents were sufficient to remove their fears: his own soldiers animated with the spirit of their leader, warmly seconded his endeavours, but all in vain: the utmost that he could effect, was to prevail with them to defer their departure, on a promise, that he would, at a more proper time, dismiss such as should desire it.

That the malecontents might be diverted from brooding over



the causes of their disaffection, he resolved instantly to call forth his troops in action. His first expedition was against the Tepeacans who had cut off a small detachment of Spaniards, consisting mostly of the followers of Narvaez, when marching from Zempoalla to Mexico : another party had been destroyed in the mountains as they were returning from Tlascala to Vera Cruz, with the share of the Mexican gold allotted to the garrison. The desire of vengeance engaged them more willingly in this war.

Cortes took the command in person, and in the space of a few weeks in several encounters, with great slaughter of the Tepeacans, reduced that province to subjection. Thus, for several months, he kept his troops constantly employed against the adjacent provinces. His men thus accustomed to victory, resumed their former sense of their superiority ; the Mexican power was weakened ; and the Tlascalan warriors acquiring the habit of acting in conjunction with the Spaniards ; the chiefs were delighted with seeing their country enriched with the spoils of their enemies, and were astonished every day with fresh discoveries of the irresistible prowess of their new allies, and exerted every nerve to support them.

The reinforcements that Cortes expected from the isles was now the chief object of his thoughts ; the aid of these, however, was distant and uncertain. But what neither his own sagacity nor power could have procured, he owed to a series of fortunate and unforeseen events. The governor of Cuba, who supposed the success of Narvaez was an infallible certainty, having sent two small ships after him with new instructions, and a supply of men and military stores, the officer whom Cortes had appointed to command on the coast, artfully decoyed them into the harbour of Vera Cruz, seized the vessels, and easily persuaded the soldiers to follow the standard of a more able leader, than him they were destined to join. Soon after, three ships of more considerable force came into the harbour separately. These belonged to an armament fitted out by Francisco de Caray, governor of Jamaica, who being possessed with the rage of discovery and conquest, had long aimed at dividing the glory and gain of the Mexican empire with Cortes.

After a succession of disasters, they were compelled by famine to venture into Vera Cruz, and to cast themselves on the mercy of their countrymen ; as if the spirit of revolt had been contagious to New Spain, these were easily persuaded to abandon their old master, and enlist under Cortes. A ship about this time also arrived from Spain, fitted out by some merchants, with military stores, in hopes of a profitable market, in a country, the fame of whose opulence, began to spread over Europe. Cortes eagerly purchased a cargo, which to him was invaluable, and the

crew following the general example, joined him at Tlascala. It was a singular circumstance that the two persons chiefly instrumental in furnishing him with those seasonable supplies, should be, one an avowed enemy who sought his destruction, and the other an envious rival, who wished to supplant him.

The first effect of the junction with his new followers, was to dismiss such of Narvaez's soldiers, as remained with reluctance in his service. After their departure, he still mustered five hundred and fifty infantry, forty horsemen, and a train of nine field pieces; at the head of these, accompanied by ten thousand Tlascalans and other friendly Indians, Cortes, on the twenty-eighth of December, 1520, began his march towards Mexico. The Mexicans, however, were prepared to receive him.

The chiefs of the empire, upon the death of Montezuma, instantly raised his brother Quetzlavaca to the throne. He embraced the first opportunity of convincing them that he was worthy of their choice, by conducting in person those fierce attacks, which compelled the Spaniards to abandon his capital. After their retreat he took measures for preventing their return to Mexico. He saw the storm that was gathering; he therefore repaired what the Spaniards had destroyed in the city, and strengthened it with new fortifications; he filled his magazines with the usual weapons of war, and directed long spears to be made, headed with the swords and daggers taken from the Spaniards, in order to annoy the cavalry. He summoned the people in every province to take arms; he also endeavoured to persuade the Tlascalans, to withdraw their aid and friendship from those strangers, who had given such manifest indications of their enmity to their gods, and who would at last subject them to the same yoke they were endeavouring to impose upon others.

These representations were urged with such force and solid reason, that it required all the address of Cortes to prevent their making a dangerous impression. But while the Mexican chief was forming his plan of defence, with great foresight, the small pox, which the Spaniards had introduced into New Spain, put an end to his career. The Mexicans at his death, raised to the throne Guatimozin, nephew and son-in-law to Montezuma, a young man of high reputation for abilities and valour: and at this dangerous crisis, his countrymen with one voice called him to the supreme command.

As Cortes entered the enemy's territories, he found various obstructions: but his troops forced their way with little difficulty, and took possession of Tezcuco, the second city of the empire, about twenty miles from Mexico. Here he established his headquarters, it being a convenient station for launching his brigandines, and for making his approaches to the capital.

The cazique or chief who presided there, he deposed, under

pretext of some defect in his title, and put in his place, a person whom a faction of the nobles pointed out as the right heir to that dignity. By this artifice the new cazique and his adherents, served the Spaniards with inviolable fidelity. Cortes having early discovered symptoms of disaffection, in the cities situated round about Mexico, availed himself of this circumstance to gain their confidence and friendship.

He offered with confidence to deliver them from the galling yoke of the Mexicans, and was very liberal of promises if they would unite with him against their oppressors. By these arts he prevailed upon several considerable districts, not only to acknowledge the king of Castile for their sovereign, but to supply the Spanish camp with provisions, and to augment his army with auxiliary troops. Guatimozin on the first appearance of disaffection among his subjects, exerted himself with vigour to prevent or punish their revolt. He beheld with deep concern, Cortes arming against his empire, those very hands which ought to have been active in its defence, and ready to march against the capital at the head of a numerous body of his own subjects.

While Cortes was thus circumscribing the Mexican power, a dangerous conspiracy had nearly ruined all his schemes. The soldiers of Narvaez, who still remained with him, had never perfectly united with the original companions of Cortes, neither did they enter so cordially into his measures. And now on a near view of what they had to encounter, in attempting to reduce a city so inaccessible as Mexico and defended by a numerous army, their resolution began to fail. They now began to cabal and censure their general's measures, and propose plans for their own safety, of which they deemed their commander totally negligent.

Antonio Villefagna, a private soldier, but bold, intriguing, and strongly attached to Velasquez, artfully fomented this growing disaffection. His quarters became the rendezvous of the malecontents, where, after many consultations, they agreed that their only remedy was, to assassinate Cortes and his most considerable officers, and conferring the command on some person who would relinquish his plans, and adopt measures which, in their opinion, were more consistent with the general security. Despair inspired them with courage. The hour for executing their design, the destined victims, and the officers to succeed them, were all named. These resolutions were signed by the conspirators, who bound themselves to each other by the most solemn oaths to mutual fidelity.

But on the evening before the appointed day, one of Cortes's ancient followers, who had been seduced, touched with compunction at the imminent danger of a man whom he had been long accustomed to revere, went privately to his general, and revealed



to him all he knew. Cortes, though deeply alarmed, repaired instantly to the quarters of Villefagna, accompanied by some of his most trusty officers. The astonishment at this unexpected visit, anticipated the confession of his guilt. While his attendants seized him, Cortes snatched from his bosom a paper containing the association, signed by the conspirators. Impatient to know how far the defection extended, he retired to read it, and found in it names which filled him with surprize and sorrow. Policy made him confine his inquiries to Villefagna alone, as the proofs of his guilt were manifest. He was condemned, after a short trial, and next morning was seen hanging before the door of the house in which he had lodged.

Cortes called his troops together, and having explained to them the atrocious designs of the conspirators, as well as the justice of the punishment of Villefagna, he added with an appearance of satisfaction, that he was entirely ignorant of the other conspirators; as the traitor when arrested had suddenly torn and swallowed a paper which probably gave an account of the conspiracy; and could not be made, under the greatest tortures, to discover his accomplices. This artful declaration restored tranquility to many a breast, that was throbbing with apprehension.

Cortes did not allow them leisure to ruminate on what had happened, but immediately called forth his troops to action. He had received intelligence that the materials for building the brigantines were ready. He therefore sent a convoy of two hundred foot-soldiers, fifteen horsemen, and two field pieces, under the command of Sandoval, whose activity and courage was manifested upon every occasion, and who had acquired the confidence not only of Cortes, but of his fellow-soldiers. The service was singular and important: the whole utensils, the beams, plank, masts, cordage, sails, iron work, and an infinite variety of articles, were to be carried sixty miles over land, through a mountainous country, by people who were unacquainted with the aid of domestic animals, or the use of machines.

The Tlascalans furnished for this purpose eight thousand Tamemes, an inferior order of men destined for servile uses, to carry the materials on their shoulders, and appointed fifteen thousand warriors to accompany and defend them. Sandoval placed the Tamemes in the centre, one body of warriors in the front, and another in the rear, with considerable parties to cover the flanks. To each of these he joined some Spaniards to assist them in danger, and accustom them to regularity and subordination.

A body so numerous and so encumbered, advanced but slowly, but in excellent order. In some places, where they were confined by woods or mountains, the line of march extended above six miles. Parties of Mexicans frequently appeared hovering around them on the high grounds, but perceiving that there was

no prospect of success in attacking an enemy always on his guard, they did not venture to molest them.

Sandoval had the glory of conducting safely to Tezcuco a convoy on which all the future operations of his countrymen depended.

The joy occasioned by the safe arrival of the convoy was increased by the arrival of four ships from Hispaniola, with two hundred soldiers, eighty horses, two battering cannon, and a fresh supply of arms and ammunition. Elevated with this additional strength, Cortes was impatient to begin the siege in form, and hastened the launching of the brigantines.

He employed a vast number of Indians for two months in deepening a small creek that emptied into the lake, so as to form a canal two miles in length. The Mexicans, aware of the danger that threatened them, endeavoured to interrupt the labourers, or to burn the brigantines, but in vain: the work was at last completed. On the twenty-eighth of April, 1521, all the Spanish troops, with the auxiliary Indians, were drawn up on the banks of the canal; and with great military pomp, rendered more solemn by the celebration of religious rights, the brigantines were launched.

As they passed down the canal, father Olmedo blessed them, and gave to each a name. Every eye followed them with wonder and hope, until they entered the lake, when they hoisted their sails and bore away before the wind.

A general shout of joy was raised; all admiring that bold inventive genius, which by means so extraordinary had acquired the command of a fleet, without the aid of which, Mexico would have set power and arms at defiance.

Cortes prepared to attack the city from three different quarters: from Tezcuco, on the east side of the lake; from Tacuba, on the west; and from Cuyocan, towards the south. These towns were situated on the principal causeways which led to the capital, and intended for their defence. Sandoval commanded in the first, Pedro de Alvarado in the second, and Christoval de Olid in the third: allotting to each a numerous body of Indian auxiliaries, together with an equal division of Spaniards, who, by the junction of the troops from Hispaniola, amounted to eighty-six horsemen, and eight hundred and eighteen-foot soldiers; of whom one hundred and eighteen were armed with muskets or cross bows. Their train of artillery was three battering cannon, and fifteen field-pieces. He reserved for himself, as the station of the greatest importance and danger, the conduct of the brigantines, each armed with one of his small cannon, and manned with twenty-five Spaniards.

As Alvarado and Olid proceeded to the posts assigned them, they broke down the aqueducts, which the Mexicans had erected

to convey water into the capital, and was the beginning of the distresses which the inhabitants were destined to suffer. The towns which they were ordered to take possession of, were deserted by the inhabitants, who had fled for safety to the capital, where Guatimozin had collected the chief force of his empire, as the only place where he could hope to make a successful stand against such formidable enemies, who were approaching to assault him.

The first effort of the Mexicans was to destroy the brigantines, the fatal effects of whose operations they foresaw and dreaded. Necessity urged Guatimozin to hazard an attack: he assembled such a multitude of canoes as covered the face of the lake, hoping to overwhelm them with numbers. They rowed on boldly to the charge, while the brigantines, retarded by a dead calm, could scarcely advance to meet them. But as the enemy drew near, a breeze suddenly sprung up, in a moment the sails were spread, and the brigantines, with irresistible impetuosity, broke through their feeble opponents, upset many of their canoes, and dispersed the whole armament with such slaughter, as convinced the Mexicans, that their enemies were as formidable on this new element as they had found them on land.

Cortes after this remained absolute master of the lake, and the brigantines preserved a communication between the Spaniards in their different stations, though at a considerable distance from each other, and at the same time covered the causeways, keeping off the canoes when they attempted to annoy the troops as they advanced towards the city. The Mexicans, in their own defence, displayed such valour as was hardly inferior to that with which the Spaniards attacked them. On land, on water, by night and by day, one furious conflict succeeded another. Several Spaniards were killed, more wounded, and all were ready to sink under the toils of unremitting service, which had become intolerable by the injuries of the season; the periodical rains having set in with their usual violence.

Cortes, astonished at the difficulties and length of the siege, determined to make one great effort to get possession of the city, before he relinquished the plan which he had hitherto proposed. With this view, he sent instructions to Alvarado and Sandoval, to advance with their divisions to a general assault, and took the command in person of that posted on the causeway of Cuyocan. Animated by his presence, and expecting some decisive event, the Spaniards pressed forward with irresistible impetuosity. They broke down one barricade after another, forced their way over the ditches and canals, and having entered the city, they gained ground incessantly, notwithstanding the multitude and ferocity of their enemies.

Cortes, though delighted with the rapidity of his progress, did



not forget that he might find it necessary to make a retreat; and in order to secure it, appointed Julian de Alderete, a captain of chief note in the troops which he had received from Hispaniola, to fill up the canals and gaps, in the causeway, as the main body advanced. That officer thinking it beneath him to be thus employed, while his companions were in the heat of action, and in full career of victory, neglected the important charge, and hurried on to join his companions in arms.

The Mexicans, whose military skill was daily improving, no sooner observed this, than they carried an account of it to their monarch. Guatimozin instantly discerned the consequences of the error which the Spaniards had committed, and with admirable presence of mind, prepared to take advantage of it. He commanded the troops posted in the front to slacken their efforts, that the Spaniards might be allured to push forwards, while he despatched a large body of chosen warriors through different streets, some by land, and others by water, towards the great breach in the causeway which had been left open.

On a signal given, the priests in the principal temple, struck the great drum consecrated to the god of war. No sooner did the Mexicans hear its doleful solemn sound, calculated to inspire them with a contempt of death, than they rushed upon the enemy with frantic rage. The Spaniards, unable to resist men urged on by religious fury, began to retire at first in good order; but, as the enemy pressed on, the terror and confusion became general; so that when they arrived at the gap in the causeway, Spaniards and Tlasealans, horsemen and infantry, plunged in promiscuously, while the Mexicans rushed in upon them fiercely from every side, their light canoes carrying them over shoals where the brigantines could not approach. In vain did Cortes attempt to rally his forces: fear rendered them regardless of his entreaties or commands.

Finding all his endeavours to renew the combat fruitless, his next care was to save those who had thrown themselves into the water; but while he was thus employed, with more attention to their situation than his own, six Mexican captains suddenly laid hold of him, and were hurrying him off in triumph; and, though two of his officers rescued him at the expense of their lives, he received several dangerous wounds, before he could disengage himself. About sixty Spaniards perished in this encounter: and what rendered the disaster still more afflicting, forty of these fell alive into the hands of an enemy never known to shew mercy to a captive.

Night, though it delivered the Spaniards from the attacks of the enemy, ushered in what was no less grievous: the noise of their barbarous triumph, and the horrid festivals with which they celebrated their victory. Every quarter of the city was illum-

nated: the great temple shone with peculiar splendour; so that the Spaniards could plainly see the people in motion, and the priests busy in hastening the death of the prisoners. They fancied they could discover their companions by the whiteness of their skins, as they were stripped naked to dance before the image of the god, to whom they were offered.

They heard the shrieks of those who were sacrificed, and thought they could distinguish each unhappy victim by the sound of his voice. Imagination added to, and augmented the horror. The most unfeeling melted into tears of compassion, and the stoutest heart trembled at the dreadful spectacle which they beheld.

Cortes, who felt in common with his soldiers, was oppressed with an additional load of anxious reflections, natural to a general on such an unexpected calamity; he could not, like them, relieve his mind by giving vent to its anguish. He was obliged to assume an air of tranquility, in order to revive the drooping spirits and hopes of his followers. The juncture, indeed, required an extraordinary exertion of courage.

The Mexicans, elated with their victory, sallied out next morning to attack him in his quarters. But they did not rely on the efforts of their own arms alone. They sent the heads of the Spaniards whom they had sacrificed, to the leading men in the adjacent provinces, and assured them that the god of war, appeased by the blood of the invaders, which had been shed so plentifully on his altars, had declared, with an audible voice, that in eight days time, those hated enemies should be finally destroyed, and peace and prosperity established in the empire.

This prediction being uttered without any ambiguity, gained universal credit among the natives; several of the provinces, which had hitherto remained inactive, took up arms with enthusiastic ardour; even the Tlascalans were lead to relax in their fidelity, and Cortes and his Spaniards were almost left alone in their stations. Cortes, finding that he in vain attempted to dispel the superstitious fears of his confederates, took advantage of the imprudence of those who had framed the prophecy, in fixing its accomplishment so near at hand, to give them a striking demonstration of its falsity. He suspended all military operations during the period marked out by the oracle; and, under cover of the brigantines, his troops lay in safety: the enemy was kept at a distance. and the fatal term expired without any disaster.

His allies, ashamed of their own credulity, returned to their station. Other tribes now veered about, from a belief that the gods had deceived the Mexicans, and had decreed finally to withdraw their protection from them: such was the levity of this simple race of men.

In a short time, according to the account of Cortes, he was at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand Indians. Notwithstand-

ing this large addition of strength, he found it necessary to adopt a more wary system of operations. He now made his advances gradually, and was more cautious of exposing his men to similar calamities which they still bewailed.

As soon as they got possession of any part of the town, the houses were instantly destroyed. Famine now began to rage amongst the Mexicans: the brigantines prevented all supplies coming to their relief by water, and the Indian auxiliaries enabled Cortes to shut up the avenues of the city; not only the common people, but persons of the highest rank felt the utmost distresses of want. These sufferings were succeeded by infectious and mortal distempers: the last calamity that visits besieged cities, and which filled up the measure of their woes.

Guatimozin, notwithstanding all these various and pressing evils, remained firm and unsubdued. He rejected with scorn every overture of peace with Cortes; disdaining the idea of submitting to the oppressors of his country, and was determined not to survive its ruin. The Spaniards at length, with all their divisions, made a secure lodgement in the centre of the city. Three fourths were now laid in ruins. The remaining quarter was so closely pressed that it could not long withstand assailants, who now attacked them with superior advantage, and a more assured prospect of success.

The Mexican nobles, solicitous to save the life of a monarch whom they revered, prevailed on Guatimozin to retire from a place, where resistance was now in vain; that he might rouse the more distant provinces, and maintain there a more successful war, with the public enemy. To facilitate the execution of this measure, they sought to gain time by endeavouring to amuse Cortes with overtures of peace. But they made this attempt upon a leader of greater sagacity and discernment than to be deceived by their arts. Cortes suspecting their intention, and aware of what moment it was best to defeat it, appointed Sandoval, on whose vigilance he could most perfectly rely, to take the command of the brigantines, with strict injunctions to watch every motion of the enemy.

Sandoval, attentive to the charge, observed some large canoes crowded with people, rowing across the lake, with uncommon rapidity, instantly gave the signal to chase. Garcia Holguin, who commanded the fleetest brigantine, soon overtook them, and was preparing to fire on the foremost canoe, which seemed to carry some person whom all the rest followed and obeyed. At once the rowers dropped their oars, and throwing down their arms, conjured him with cries and tears to forbear. as the emperor was there. Holguin eagerly seized his prize, and Guatimozin, with a dignified composure, gave himself up into his hands, requesting only that no insult might be offered to the empress or his children.



When conducted to Cortes, he appeared worthy of a better fate: he discovered none of the sullen fierceness of the barbarian, nor the dejection of a supplicant. "I have done," said he, addressing himself to the Spanish general, "what became a monarch; I have defended my people to the last extremity: nothing now remains but to die;....take this dagger," laying his hand on one Cortes wore, "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life that can no longer be of use."

As soon as the fate of their sovereign was known, all resistance on the part of the Mexicans ceased; and Cortes took possession of the remaining part of the city. Thus terminated the siege of Mexico, the most memorable event in the conquest of America. It continued seventy-five days, not one of which passed without some extraordinary effort of one party in attacking, or of the other in defending, a city, on the fate of which both parties knew that of the empire depended. As the struggle here was more obstinate, it was likewise more equal, than any between the inhabitants of the Old and New Worlds.

The great abilities of Guatimozin, the number of his troops, the peculiar situation of his capital, so far counterbalanced the superiority of the Spaniards in arms and discipline, that they must have relinquished the enterprize if they had trusted to themselves alone. But Mexico was overturned by the jealousy of neighbours, who dreaded its power, and by the revolt of subjects impatient to throw off the yoke. By their effectual aid, Cortes was enabled to accomplish what, without such support, he would hardly have ventured to attempt. Great merit is due to the abilities of Cortes, who under every disadvantage, acquired such an ascendancy over unknown nations, as to render them instruments towards carrying his schemes into execution.

The exultation of the Spaniards, on accomplishing this arduous enterprize, was at first excessive. But this was quickly damped by the disappointment of those sanguine hopes, which had animated them amidst so many hardships and dangers. Instead of the inexhaustible wealth which they expected from becoming masters of Montezuma's treasures, and the ornaments of so many temples, they could only collect an inconsiderable booty, amidst ruins and desolation. According to the account of Cortes, the whole amount was only 120,000 pesos, a sum far inferior to that which the Spaniards had formerly divided in Mexico. This sum, when divided among the conquerors, was so small, that many of them disdained the pittance that fell to their share.

Guatimozin, aware of his impending fate, had ordered what had remained of the riches amassed by his ancestors, to be thrown into the lake. Cortes, from an anxious desire to check the growing discontent among his followers, gave way to a deed which stained the glory of all his great actions. Without regarding the

former dignity of Guatimozin, or feeling any reverence for those virtues which he had displayed, he subjected the unhappy monarch, together with his chief favourite, to torture, in order to enforce them to a discovery of the royal treasures, which it was supposed they had concealed. Guatimozin bore whatever the refined cruelty of his tormentors could inflict with invincible fortitude.

His fellow sufferer, overcome by the violence of the anguish, turned a dejected inquiring eye towards his master, and seemed to implore his permission to reveal all that he knew. But the high spirited prince, darting on him a look of authority, mingled with scorn, checked his weakness by asking, "Am I now reposing on a bed of flowers?" Overawed by the reproach, he persevered in his dutiful silence, and expired. Cortes, ashamed of a scene so horrid, rescued the royal victim from the hands of his torturers, and prolonged a life reserved for new indignities and sufferings.

The provinces now submitted to the conquerors. Small detachments of Spaniards marched through them, without interruption, and penetrated, in different quarters, to the great southern ocean, which, according to the ideas of Columbus, they imagined would open a short and easy passage to the East Indies.

The active mind of Cortes began already to form schemes for attempting this important discovery. He was ignorant that this very scheme had been undertaken and accomplished, during the progress of his victorious arms in Mexico.

Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman of honourable birth, having received ill treatment from his general and sovereign, in a transport of resentment, formally renounced his allegiance to an ungrateful master, and fled to the court of Castile, in hopes that his worth would be more justly estimated. He revived Columbus's original and favourite project, of discovering a passage to India by a western course. Cardinal Ximenes listened to it with a most favourable ear. Charles V. on his arrival in his Spanish dominions, entered into the measure with no less ardour, and orders were issued for equipping a proper squadron at the public charge, of which the command was given to Magellan, whom the king honoured with the habit of St. Jago, and the title of captain-general.

On the tenth of August, 1519, Magellan sailed from Seville, with five ships, which were deemed at that time of considerable force; though the largest of them did not exceed one hundred and twenty tons burden: the crew of the whole amounted to two hundred and thirty four men, including some of the most skilful pilots in Spain, and seven Portuguese sailors, in whom Magellan placed the utmost confidence.

After touching at the Canaries, he stood directly south, to-

wards the equinoctial line along the coast of America. He did not reach the river de la Plata till the twelfth of January, 1520.

That spacious body of water allured him to enter into it, but after sailing for some days, he concluded, from the shallowness of the stream, and its freshness, that the wished for strait was not situated there.

On the thirty-first of March he arrived at the port of St. Julian, at about forty-eight degrees of south latitude, where he resolved to winter. In this uncomfortable station he lost one of his squadron, and the Spaniards suffered so much from the inclemency of the climate, that the crews of three of the ships, headed by their officers, rose in open mutiny, and insisted on relinquishing the visionary project of a desperate adventurer, and returning directly to Spain. This dangerous insurrection Magellan wisely suppressed, by an effort of courage no less prompt than intrepid: and inflicted exemplary punishment on the ringleaders. With the remainder of his followers, overawed but not reconciled to his scheme, he continued his voyage toward the south, and at length discovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a strait, into which he entered, notwithstanding the murmurs of the people under his command.

After sailing twenty days in that winding and dangerous channel, to which he gave his own name, and where one of his ships deserted him, the great southern ocean opened to his view; and with tears of joy, he returned thanks to heaven, for having thus far crowned his endeavours with success. He continued to sail in a north west direction three months and twenty days, without discovering land; in this voyage, the longest that had ever been made in the unbounded ocean, he suffered incredible distress. His stock of provisions was almost exhausted, the water became putrid, the men were reduced to the shortest allowance, with which it was possible to sustain life: and the scurvy began to spread among them. One circumstance alone afforded consolation. They enjoyed an uninterrupted succession of fair weather, with such favourable winds, that Magellan bestowed on that ocean the name of *Pacific*, which it still retains.

They would have soon sunk under their sufferings, had they not discovered and fell in with a cluster of islands, whose fertility afforded them refreshments in such abundance, that their health was soon re-established. From these islands, to which he gave the name of De los Ladrones, he proceeded on his voyage, and soon made a more important discovery of the islands now known by the name of the *Philippines*; in one of these he got into an unfortunate quarrel with the natives, who attacked him with a numerous body of troops well armed; and while he fought at the head of his men with his usual valour, he fell by the hands of those barbarians, together with several of his principal officers.



Other officers took the command, and after touching at several other islands in the Indian ocean, they at length landed at Tidore, one of the Moluccas, to the astonishment of the Portuguese, who could not comprehend how the Spaniards, by holding a westerly course, had arrived at that sequestered seat of their valuable commerce, which they had discovered by sailing in an opposite direction.

There, and in the adjacent isles, they found a people acquainted with the benefit of trade, and pleased with opening an intercourse with a new nation. They took in a cargo of valuable spices, with that and other specimens of rich commodities which they had collected from other countries, they loaded the *Victory*, which, of the two ships that remained, was the most fit for a long voyage, and set sail for Spain, under the command of Juan Sebastian del Cano. He followed the course of the Portuguese by the cape of Good Hope; and after many sufferings, he arrived at St. Lucar, on the seventh of September, 1522, having sailed round the globe in the space of three years and twenty-eight days.

To return to the transaction of New Spain: At the time that Cortes was acquiring such vast territories, for his sovereign, and preparing the way for future conquests, it was his singular fate, not only to be destitute of any commission or authority from the sovereign whom he served with such successful zeal, but was regarded as an undutiful seditious subject. By the influence of Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, his conduct, in assuming the government of New Spain, was declared to be an irregular usurpation, in contempt of the royal authority; and Christoval de Tapia was commissioned to supercede Cortes, to seize his person, confiscate his effects, make a strict scrutiny into his proceedings, and transmit the result of his inquiries to the court of the Indies, of which the bishop of Burgos was president. Tapia landed a few weeks after the reduction of Mexico, at Vera Cruz, with the royal mandate to divest its conqueror of his power, and treat him as a criminal.

But Fonseca had chosen a very improper person to wreak his vengeance on Cortes. Tapia had neither the reputation nor the talents, that suited the high command to which he had been appointed. Cortes, while he publicly expressed the highest veneration for the emperor's authority, secretly took measures to defeat the effect of his commission; and having involved Tapia and his followers in a multiplicity of conferences and negotiations, sometimes making use of threats, but more frequently employing bribes and promises, he at length prevailed on that weak man to abandon a province he was unworthy of governing. But Cortes was so sensible of the precarious tenure by which he held his power, that he despatched deputies to Spain with a pompous account of the success of his arms, with further specimens of the produc-

tions of the country, and with rich presents to the emperor, as the earnest of future contributions from his new conquest; requesting as a recompense for all his services, the approbation of his proceedings, and that he might be entrusted with the government of those territories which his conduct, and the valour of his followers, had added to the crown of Castile.

The account of Cortes's victories filled his countrymen with admiration. The public voice declared loudly in favour of his pretensions, and Charles adopted the sentiments of his subjects with a youthful ardour. He appointed him captain-general and governor of New Spain.

It was not, however, without difficulty that the Mexican empire could be entirely reduced into the form of a Spanish colony. Enraged and rendered desperate by oppression, the natives often forgot the superiority of their enemies; and took up arms in defence of their liberties. In every contest, however, the European valour and discipline prevailed. But fatally for the honour of their country, the Spaniards sullied the glory redounding from their repeated victories, by their mode of treating the vanquished.

In almost every province of the Mexican empire, the progress of the Spanish arms is marked with blood, and with deeds so atrocious, as disgrace the enterprising valour that conducted them to success. In the province of Panuco, sixty caziques, or chiefs, and four hundred nobles, were burnt at one time. Nor was this shocking barbarity committed in any sudden effect of rage, or by a commander of inferior note; it was the act of Sandoval, who was entitled to the second rank in the annals of New Spain, executed after a solemn consultation with Cortes: and to complete the horror of the scene, the children and relations of the victims were compelled to be spectators of their dying agonies. This dreadful example of severity, was followed by another which affected the Mexicans still more sensibly. On a slight suspicion, confirmed by very imperfect evidence, Guatimozin was charged with attempting to throw off the yoke, and to excite his former subjects to take up arms. Cortes, without the formality of a trial, ordered the unhappy monarch, together with the caziques of Tezeuco and Tacuba, two persons of the greatest eminence, next to the emperor, to be hanged; and the Mexicans with astonishment beheld this ignominious punishment inflicted upon persons, whom they had been accustomed to look up to with a reverence, little inferior to that which they paid to the gods themselves.

When Charles V. advanced Cortes to the government of New Spain, he at the same time appointed commissioners to receive and administer the royal revenue there. These men were astonished, when arriving in Mexico, at the high authority which Cortes exercised. In their letters, they represented Cortes as an am-

bitious tyrant, who, having usurped a jurisdiction superior to law, aimed at independence. These insinuations made such deep impression on the mind of the Spanish ministers, that unmindful of the past services of Cortes, they infused the same suspicions into the mind of Charles, and prevailed on him to order a solemn inquest to be made into his conduct, with powers to the licentiate, Ponce de Leon, entrusted with that commission, to seize his person, if expedient, and send him prisoner to Spain.

The sudden death of Ponce de Leon, which happened soon after his arrival in New Spain, prevented the execution of this commission. Cortes beheld the approaching crisis of his fortune, with all the violent emotions natural to a haughty mind, conscious of high desert, and receiving unworthy treatment. His old faithful followers, stung with resentment, advised him to seize that power, which the courtiers were so mean as to accuse him of coveting.

Actuated by sentiments of loyalty, he rejected the dangerous advice, and repaired directly to Spain; choosing rather to commit himself and his cause to the justice of his sovereign, than submit to be tried in a country, where he had the chief command, and by a set of interested and partial judges.

In the year 1528, Cortes appeared in his native country, with the splendour that suited the conqueror of a mighty kingdom. He brought with him a great part of his wealth, many jewels and ornaments of great value, and was attended by some Mexicans of the first rank, as well as by the most considerable of his own officers. His arrival in Spain, removed at once every suspicion. The emperor received him as a person entitled to high respect, for the eminence of his services. The order of St. Jago, the title of Marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, the grant of a vast territory in New Spain, were successively bestowed upon him; and he was admitted to the same familiar intercourse with the emperor, as noblemen of the first rank. But amidst these external proofs of regard, some symptoms of remaining distrust appeared. Although he earnestly solicited to be reinstated in the government of New Spain, Charles peremptorily refused to grant his request. The military department, with power to attempt new discoveries, was left in his hands: with this diminished authority he returned to New Spain. Antonio de Mendoza was sent thither with the title of viceroy. Cortes fitted out several small squadrons, and sent them into the South Sea to make discoveries, which either perished in the attempt, or returned unsuccessful. Cortes, weary of entrusting his operations to others, in the year 1536, took the command of a new armament, and after enduring incredible hardships, he discovered the large peninsula of California, and surveyed the greater part of the gulph which separates it from New Spain. The discovery of a country of such extent, would



have reflected credit on a common adventurer, but could add little new honour to the name of Cortes. Disgusted with ill success, and weary of contending with adversaries, to whom he considered it a disgrace to be opposed, he once more sought for redress in his native country. His fate there was the same with that of all the persons who had distinguished themselves in the discovery of the New World; envied by his contemporaries, and ill requited by the court which he served, he ended his days on the second of December, 1547, in the sixty-second year of his age.



## HISTORY OF AMERICA,

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### BOOK III.

HAVING related in my last book the splendid achievements of Cortes and his followers, and the subjugation of the Mexican empire, it now remains to close the history of South America with the conquest of Peru. The chief actors in this undertaking were Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando de Luque.

Pizarro was the natural son of a gentleman, by an illicit amour with a woman of very low birth; and as it frequently happens to the offspring of unlawful love, he was neglected by the author of his birth, who was so unnatural as to set him, when arriving at the years of manhood, to feed his hogs. Young Pizarro could not long brook such an ignoble occupation. His aspiring mind thirsted after military glory, and he enlisted as a soldier; and after serving some years in Italy, embarked for America, where he soon distinguished himself. With a courage no less daring, than the constitution of his body was robust, he was foremost in every danger, and endured the greatest hardships. Though he was so illiterate that he could not read, he was considered as a man formed to command. Every expedition committed to his conduct, proved successful; he was as cautious in executing, as bold in forming, his plans. Engaging early in active life, without any resource but his own talents and industry, and by depending upon himself to emerge from obscurity, he acquired such a perfect

knowledge of affairs, and of men, that he was qualified to conduct the one, and govern the other.

Almagro had as little to boast of his descent. The one was a bastard the other a foundling. Educated like his companion, in the camp, he was equally intrepid, of insurmountable constancy, in enduring those hardships which were inseparable from military service in the New World. But in Almagro these splendid accomplishments were joined to an openness, generosity, and candour, natural to men who profess the military art. In Pizarro they were united with the address, the craft, and the dissimulation of a politician; he had the art to conceal his own purposes, and sagacity to penetrate into those of other men.

Hernando de Luque was an ecclesiastic, who acted both as priest and school-master at Panama, and who had amassed riches that inspired him with thoughts of rising to greater eminence. Such were the men who eventually overturned one of the most extensive empires recorded in history.

Their confederacy was authorized by Pedrarias, the governor of Panama, and was confirmed by the most solemn act of religion. Luque celebrated mass, divided a consecrated host into three parts, of which each had his portion, and thus in the name of the Prince of Peace, ratified a contract, of which plunder and bloodshed were the objects.

Pizarro set sail from Panama on the fourteenth of November, 1524, with one single vessel, and an hundred and twenty men. Almagro was to conduct the supplies of provisions, and reinforcements of troops, and Luque was to remain at Panama to negotiate with the governor, and promote the general interest. Pizarro had chosen the most improper time of the whole year; the periodical winds at that time set in, and were directly adverse to the course he proposed to steer. After beating about for seventy days, his progress towards the southeast was no more than what a skillful navigator will make in as many hours.

Pizarro, notwithstanding his suffering incredible hardships from famine, fatigue, and the hostility of the natives where he landed, but above all, the distempers incident to a moist sultry climate, which proved fatal to several of his men; yet his resolution remained undaunted, and he endeavoured by every persuasive art, to reanimate their desponding hopes. At length he was obliged to abandon the inhospitable coast of Terra Firma, and retire to Chucama, opposite to the pearl islands, where he hoped to receive a supply of provisions and troops from Panama. Almagro soon after followed him with seventy men, and landing them on the continent, where he had hoped to meet with his associate, was repulsed by the Indians: in which conflict he lost one of his eyes, by the wound of an arrow: they likewise were compelled to re-embark, and chance directed them to the place of Pizarro's re-

treat, where they found some consolation in recounting to each other their sufferings. Notwithstanding all they had suffered, they were inflexibly bent to pursue their original intention. Almagro repaired to Panama, in hopes of recruiting their shattered troops; but his countrymen, discouraged at the recital of the sufferings he and Pizarro had sustained, were not to be persuaded to engage in such hard service. The most that he could muster was about fourscore men. Feeble as this reinforcement was, they did not hesitate about resuming their operations.

After a long series of disasters, part of the armament reached the bay of St. Matthew on the coast of Quito, and landed at Tacamez to the south of the river of Emeralds, and beheld a country more fertile than any they had yet discovered on the Southern Ocean; the natives were clad in garments of woolen, or cotton stuff, and adorned with trinkets of gold and silver. Pizarro and Almagro, however, were unwilling to invade a country so populous, with a handful of men enfeebled by diseases and fatigue.

Almagro met with an unfavourable reception from Pedro de los Rios, who had succeeded Pedrarias in the government of Panama. After weighing the matter with that cold economical prudence esteemed the first of all virtues, by persons of limited faculties, incapable of conceiving or executing great designs, he concluded the expedition detrimental to an infant colony; prohibited the raising new levies, and despatched a vessel to bring home Pizarro and his companions from the island of Gallo.

Almagro and Luque deeply affected with these measures, communicated their sentiments privately to Pizarro, requesting him not to relinquish an enterprize on which all their hopes depended, as the means of re-establishing their reputation and fortune. Pizarro's mind, inflexibly bent on all its pursuits, required no incentive to persist in the scheme. He peremptorily refused to obey the governor of Panama's orders, and employed all his address and eloquence in persuading his men not to abandon him. But the thoughts of revisiting their families and friends, after so long an absence, and suffering such incredible hardships, rushed with such joy into their minds, that when Pizarro drew a line upon the sand with his sword, permitting such as wished to return home to pass over it, only thirteen daring veterans remained with their commander. This small but determined band, whose names the Spanish historians record with deserved praise, as the persons to whose persevering fortitude their country is indebted for the most valuable of all its American possessions, fixed their residence in the island of Gorgona, where they determined to wait for supplies from Panama, which they trusted their associates there would eventually procure.

Almagro and Luque were not inattentive or cold solicitors, and their incessant importunity was seconded by the general



voice of the people, who exclaimed loudly against the infamy of exposing brave men, engaged in the public service, charged with no error, but what flowed from an excessive zeal and courage. The governor overcome with entreaties and expostulations, at last consented to send a small vessel to their relief. But unwilling to encourage Pizarro in any new enterprize, he would not permit one land-man to embark on board of it.

Pizarro and his companions had remained at this time five months on an island in the most unhealthy climate in the region of America: during which period, they were buoyed up with hopes of succours from Panama; till worn out with fruitless expectations, they in despair came to a resolution of committing themselves to the ocean on a float; but on the arrival of the vessel from Panama, they were transported with such joy, that all their sufferings were forgotten. Pizarro easily induced them to resume their former scheme with fresh ardour. Instead of returning to Panama, they stood towards the south-east, when on the twentieth day after their departure, they discovered the coast of Peru.

They landed in 1526, at Tumbez, a place of some note, distinguished for its stately temple, and a palace of the Incas or sovereigns of the country. There the Spaniards feasted their eyes with the first view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire: a country fully peopled and cultivated with an appearance of regular industry; the natives decently clothed, ingenious, and so far surpassing the other natives of the New World, as to have the use of tame domestic animals. But their notice was most pleasingly attracted with the show of gold and silver which not only appeared as ornaments on their persons, and temples, but several of their vessels for common use were made of those precious metals. Pizarro and his companions seemed now to have attained the completion of their most sanguine hopes, and concluded all their wishes and dreams of inexhaustible treasures, would soon be realized.

It was, however, impracticable for Pizarro, with such a slender force to make any progress in subjugating a country so populous, and of which he hoped hereafter to take possession. He ranged, however, along the coast, maintaining a friendly intercourse with the natives, who were no less astonished at their new visitants, than the Spaniards were with the uniform appearance of opulence and cultivation which they beheld.

Having explored the country as far as was requisite to ascertain the importance of the discovery, Pizarro procured from the inhabitants some of their Limas or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of sheep; some vessels of gold and silver, as well as some specimens of their other works of ingenuity, and two young men, whom he proposed to instruct in the Spanish lan-

guage, that they might serve as interpreters in the expedition which he meditated. With these he arrived at Panama. Yet neither the splendid relation which he and his associates gave of the incredible opulence of the country which he had discovered, nor the bitter complaints he made on account of the unseasonable recall of his forces, which had put it out of his power to make a settlement there, could move the governor to swerve from his former purpose. His coldness, however, did not in any degree abate the ardour of the three associates; they therefore determined to solicit their sovereign to grant that permission which was refused by his delegate.

With this view, after adjusting among themselves that Pizarro should claim the station of governor, Almagro that of lieutenant governor, and Luque the dignity of hishop, in the country which they proposed to conquer, they sent Pizarro as their agent to Spain.

Pizarro lost no time in repairing to court; he appeared before the emperor with the unembarrassed dignity of a man conscious of what his services merited; and he conducted his negotiations with such dexterity and address, which could not have been expected from his education or former habits of life. His description of his own sufferings, and pompous account of the country which he had discovered, confirmed by the specimens he had brought, made such an impression on Charles, and his ministers, that they not only approved of the intended expedition, but seemed to be interested in the success of its leader. Presuming upon those favourable dispositions, Pizarro paid little attention to the interest of his associates. But as the pretensions of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the ecclesiastical dignity to which he aspired. For Almagro he claimed only the command of a fortress, intended to be erected at Tumbez. To himself he secured whatever his boundless ambition could desire. He was appointed governor, captain-general, and Adelantado of all the country which he had discovered, and hoped to conquer; with supreme authority, civil as well as military, and an absolute right to all the privileges and emoluments, usually granted to adventurers in the New World. His jurisdiction was declared to extend two hundred leagues along the coast, south of the river St. Jago; to be independent of the governor of Panama: and he had power to nominate all the officers who were to serve under him.

In return for these concessions, Pizarro engaged to raise two hundred and fifty men, and to provide the ships, arms, and warlike stores, requisite towards subjecting to the crown of Castile, the country of which the government was allotted him. Pizarro's funds were so low, that he could not complete more than half the stipulated number: after he had received his patents from the

crown, he was obliged to steal away privately, out of the port of Seville, in order to elude the scrutiny of the officers who had in charge, to examine whether he had fulfilled the stipulations of his contract: before his departure, however, Cortes, who had returned to Spain, about this time, advanced him a supply of money, willing to contribute his aid towards enabling an ancient companion, with whose talents and courage he was well acquainted, to begin a career of glory, similar to that which he himself had finished.

He landed at Nombre de Dios, in 1529, and marched across the isthmus to Panama, accompanied by his three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo. Of whom the first was born of lawful wedlock, the two others, like himself, were of illegitimate birth; and by Francisco his mother's brother. They were all in the prime of life, and of such abilities and courage, as fitted them to take a distinguished part in his subsequent transactions. Pizarro found Almagro so much exasperated at the manner in which he had conducted the negociation, that he not only refused to act any longer, in concert with a man, by whose perfidy he had been deprived of the honours and emoluments to which he had a just claim, but laboured to thwart all his schemes, and rival him in his discoveries.

Pizarro, however, had more wisdom and address than to suffer a rupture so fatal to all his schemes, to become irreparable. By offering voluntarily to relinquish the office of Adelantado, and promising to concur in soliciting that title, with an independent government for Almagro, he gradually mitigated the rage of an open hearted soldier, which had been violent but not implacable. Luque, highly satisfied with having been successful in all his own pretensions, zealously seconded Pizarro's endeavours. A reconciliation was effected; and the confederacy renewed on its original terms.

Notwithstanding their re-union, their interest was barely sufficient to equip three small vessels: on board of these shipped only one hundred and eighty soldiers: thirty-six of whom were horsemen. Pizarro, with this contemptible force, set sail to invade a great empire. Almagro was left at Panama, as formerly, to follow him with what reinforcements he could procure. Pizarro completed the voyage in thirteen days, but was carried by the winds and currents above a hundred leagues north of Tumbez, the place of his destination, and was obliged to land his troops in the bay of St. Matthew. Without losing a moment, he began to advance towards the south, taking care, however, not to depart from the sea-shore, that he might effect a junction with the supplies expected from Panama.

Pizarro in attacking the natives when he ought to obtain their confidence, subjected himself and his followers to many calamities.



ties; such as famine, fatigue, and diseases of various kinds, hardly inferior to those which they had endured in their former expedition. These disasters corresponded so ill with the alluring prospect of the country given by Pizarro, that many began to reproach him, and every soldier must have become cold to the service, had they not met with some appearances of wealth, which seemed to justify the reports of their leader. At length they reached the province of Coaque, the fourteenth of April, 1531, and having surprized the principal settlement of the natives, they seized the vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, valued at thirty thousand pesos, with other booty of such value, as dispelled all their doubts, and inspired the most desponding with sanguine hopes.

Pizarro was so delighted with this rich spoil, which he considered the first fruits of a land overflowing with treasure, that he instantly despatched one of his ships to Panama, with a large remittance to Almagro; and another to Nicaragua, with a considerable sum to certain persons of influence in that province, in hopes of alluring adventurers, by this early display of the wealth which he had acquired. Disdaining to employ any conciliatory means to bring over the natives to his interest, he continued his march, and attacked them with such violence in their scattered habitations, as compelled them to retire into the interior country, or to submit at discretion.

This sudden appearance of strangers whose actions and manners were so different from their own, and whose power appeared irresistible, made the same dreadful impression on these natives, as in the other parts of America.

Pizarro met with little resistance, until he attacked the island of Puna, in the bay of Guayquil. The inhabitants of this island were numerous, less civilized and more fierce and warlike than those on the continent; they defended themselves with such obstinate valour, that six months elapsed before Pizarro could reduce them to subjection.

From Puna he proceeded to Tumbez, where he remained three months to recruit his men, who were attacked by distempers peculiar to the climate. While he lay here, two detachments arrived from Nicaragua, which, though neither exceeded thirty men, he considered as a reinforcement of great consequence; especially as they were commanded by Sebastian Benalcazar, and Hernando Soto, two officers of distinguished merit and reputation. From Tumbez he proceeded to the river Piura, and near the mouth of it, he established the first Spanish colony in Peru; to which he gave the name of St. Michael.

At the time when the Spaniards invaded Peru, the dominions of its sovereigns extended in length from north to south above fifteen hundred miles, along the Pacific ocean; its breadth from east to

west was considerably less, being bounded by the vast ridge of the Andes, stretching from its one extremity to the other. According to the traditions of the natives of Peru, they were rude and uncivilized like the rest of the savages of America until Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo, appeared amongst them, who declared themselves to be the children of the sun, sent by their beneficent parent, in pity, to instruct and reclaim them. These extraordinary personages settled at Cuzco, and laid the foundations of a city. Manco Capac instructed the men in agriculture, and the useful arts. Mama Ocollo taught the women to spin and weave. After providing food and raiment and habitations for the rude people, of whom he took charge, Manco Capac introduced such laws and policy, as might be most likely to perpetuate their happiness. The functions of those he placed in authority, were so defined, and the administration of justice maintained with so steady a hand, that the country over which he presided, assumed the aspect of a well governed state.

Thus, according to tradition, was founded the empire of the Incas, or Lords of Peru. They were not only obeyed as monarchs, but revered as divinities. Their blood was held to be sacred: intermarriages with the people were forbidden, and was never contaminated with any other race: their clothing was different; the monarch appeared with ensigns of royalty, reserved for him alone, and received from his subjects that homage and respect, which approached almost to adoration.

In the year 1526, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne, eminent for his pacific virtues, as well as for his martial talents; he added the kingdom of Quito to his dominions, by which he nearly doubled the power of the Peruvian empire: he married the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito, by whom he had a son Atahualpa, whom he named at his death his successor, which happened about the year 1529, leaving the rest of his kingdom to Huascar his eldest son, by a mother of the royal race.

Notwithstanding the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch, to whose wise administration their country was so much indebted; yet, when they were informed of the order of succession so repugnant to ancient usage, and deemed sacred amongst them, they manifested a disposition unfavourable to his successor. Huascar encouraged by those sentiments of his subjects, required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful superior; but Atahualpa having previously gained a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito; these were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, and were accustomed to victory; relying on their support, Atahualpa first eluded his brother's demand, and then marched against him in hostile array. Thus, by the ambition of two young men, the

kingdom of Peru was involved in a civil war. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of the laws, and Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel use of his victory. He put to death all the children of the sun, descended from Manco Capac, whom he could seize, either by force or stratagem. His brother Huascar, from political motives, was spared for some time, and detained a prisoner, that by issuing orders in his name the usurper might more easily establish his own authority.

When Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Michael, this civil war raged with such fury between the two brothers, that although they received early accounts of the invasion of their country, and the violent proceedings of the Spaniards, they were so intent upon a war, which to them appeared more interesting, that they paid no attention to the motives of an enemy, whose number was too small to excite any great alarm: and to whose career they could easily put a check, when more at leisure.

The first information Pizarro received respecting the war, was from Huascar himself, who sent messengers to Pizarro to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as an usurper and a rebel. Pizarro discovered at once the importance of this intelligence: and without waiting for the reinforcement which he expected from Panama, with part of his troops boldly pushed forward, leaving a small garrison in St. Michael.

He directed his course towards Caxamalca, a small town at the distance of twelve days march from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a considerable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer from the Inca met him, with a valuable present, and an offer of his alliance, together with an assurance of a friendly reception at Caxamalca.

Pizarro, with the usual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended he was the ambassador of a very powerful monarch; that he was coming to assist him against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne. The Peruvians had formed various conjectures concerning the Spaniards; it was altogether incomprehensible to them what had induced them to enter their country: sometimes they were disposed to consider them as beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from a beneficent motive; their continual professions of good will strengthened this conjecture, and Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intention, so gained upon the credulity of the Inca, that he determined to give him a friendly reception. He therefore allowed the Spaniards to march in tranquillity across the sandy desert between St. Michael and Motupi, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable distresses which they suffered in passing through that comfortless region, must have proved fatal to them. From thence they advanced to the mountains, and passed through a narrow defile so inaccessible, that a few men might have defended it against the whole power of Spain, in that part of the globe.



The Spaniards were suffered to take possession of a fort, erected for the security of that important station. As they drew near to Caxamalca, Atahualpa renewed his professions of friendship; and as a further proof of his sincerity, sent them presents of much greater value than the former.

The Spaniards on entering Caxamalca, took possession of a large space of ground, on one side of which was a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the sun: the whole surrounded with a strong rampart of earth. The troops being thus safely disposed, Pizarro despatched Hernando Soto and his brother Ferdinand, to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league distant from the town. They were instructed to confirm the declaration he had before made, of his pacific disposition, and to request an interview with the Inca. They were treated with that respectful hospitality usual among the Peruvians, and obtained a promise from the Inca to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The deputies were astonished at the order which prevailed in the court of the Peruvian monarch; but their attention was more particularly attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in the Inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the vessels of gold and silver, in which the repast offered to them was served up, and the utensils of every kind, formed of those precious metals used in common amongst them, opened prospects far exceeding any idea of opulence that a European of the sixteenth century could form.

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and desire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave such a description of it to their countrymen, as confirmed Pizarro in a resolution he had already taken. He remembered the advantages Cortes had gained by seizing Montezuma; and was from the same motives desirous of getting the Inca in his power. His plan was as daring as it was perfidious.

He determined to avail himself of the unsuspecting simplicity with which Atahualpa relied on his professions, and to seize his person during the interview to which he had invited him. He formed his plan with deliberation, and with as little compunction as if it was perfectly allowable by principles of justice and honour. He divided his cavalry into three small squadrons, under the command of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry was formed in one body, except twenty of tried courage, whom he kept near his own person, to support him in the dangerous service which he reserved for himself; the artillery, consisting of two field-pieces, and the cross-bow-men were placed opposite to the avenue, by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the square, and not to move until the signal for action was given.

Early in the morning, the Peruvian camp was all in motion.

Atahualpa solicitous to appear with the greatest splendour and magnificence, in his first interview with the strangers, took up so much time in his preparations, that the day was far advanced before he began his march, and moved so slowly, that the Spaniards were apprehensive their intention was suspected. To remove this, Pizarro despatched one of his officers with fresh assurance of his friendly disposition.

The Inca at length approached, preceded by four hundred men in an uniform dress, as harbingers, to clear the way before him. He, himself, sitting on a throne, adorned with plumes of various colours, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, and was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner, attended by several bands of musicians, and the whole plain was covered with troops amounting to more than thirty thousand men. As the Inca drew near the Spanish quarters, father Vincent Valverdi, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse, attempted to explain to him the fall of Adam, the incarnation, sufferings, death, and resurrection, of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vicerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolic power by succession to the popes, and the donation made by pope Alexander to the king of Castile of all the regions in the New World.

In consequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Christian faith, and acknowledge the pope as supreme head of the church, and the king of Castile as his lawful sovereign; promising that if he instantly complied, the Castilian monarch would take him under his protection, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impiously refuse to obey his summons, he denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.

This strange harangue upon abstruse subjects, and unknown facts, it was impossible at once to make an untutored Indian understand. It was altogether incomprehensible to the Inca. Those parts of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, notwithstanding, was temperate. He observed, that he was lord over the dominions he governed, by hereditary right; that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories which did not belong to him; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, as rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; and that he had no inclination to renounce the religious faith of his ancestors, nor would he forsake the service of the sun, the immortal divinity, whom he and his people revered, in order to worship the god of the Spaniards.

niards, who was subject to death; that as to the other parts of the discourse, as he could not understand their meaning, he wished to know where he had learned things so extraordinary. "In this book," answered Valverdi, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear: "This," says he "is silent: it tells me nothing," and threw it with disdain to the ground. The monk, enraged at this action, ran towards his countrymen, and cried out, "Christians! to arms! to arms! the word of God is insulted, avenge this profanation on those impious dogs!"

Pizarro gave the signal of assault: instantly the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, they sallied out fiercely to the charge, and the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The astonished Peruvians dismayed at the suddenness of the attack, so altogether unexpected, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, and the fire-arms, fled with universal consternation in every quarter, without attempting any defence. Pizarro at the head of his chosen band advanced directly towards the Inca; and notwithstanding his nobles vied with each other in sacrificing their own lives to cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat; and Pizarro, having seized the Inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters.

The Spaniards, elated with success, pursued the fugitive Peruvians in every direction, and with unrelenting barbarity continued the slaughter, until the close of the day, without meeting with any resistance. About four thousand Peruvians were killed, not one Spaniard fell, and Pizarro was the only one that was hurt, having received a slight wound from one of his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold of the Inca. The plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had formed concerning the wealth of Peru.

Transported with their success, and the value of their plunder, they passed the night in mirth and rejoicings, as might have been expected from such needy adventurers, upon such a sudden change of fortune: their exultation was extravagant, and without any remorse for having slain so many innocent people, without any just cause or provocation.

At first the Inca could hardly believe a calamity so unexpected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate: his dejection was equal in proportion to the grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro fearing he should lose the great advantages he had promised himself, by having him in his possession, endeavoured to console him, with professions of kindness and respect, that did not in the least correspond with his actions. By residing among the Spaniards, Atahualpa soon discovered their ruling passion which they were in nowise careful to conceal; and by



applying to that made an attempt to recover his liberty. The offer he made for his ransom astonished the Spaniards. The apartment in which he was confined, was twenty-two feet in length, and sixteen in breadth; this he undertook to fill with vessels of gold, as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed eagerly with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height, to which the treasure was to rise.

Pleased with having a prospect of liberty, the Inca took measures instantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by sending messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amassed, with orders to bring what was necessary for obtaining his ransom, immediately to Caxamalca. The Peruvians, accustomed to respect every mandate of their sovereign, with the greatest alacrity executed his orders. Deceived with the hopes of regaining his liberty by this means, and afraid of endangering his life, by forming any other scheme for his relief, and though the force of the empire was entire, no preparations were made, and no army assembled, to avenge their own wrongs, or those of their monarch.

The Spaniards remained at Caxamalca unmolested. Small detachments marched into the remote provinces of the empire, and instead of meeting with any opposition, were received with distinguished marks of respect.

About the month of December, 1532, Almagro landed at St. Michael with such a reinforcement as was nearly double in number to the forces with Pizarro. The arrival of this long expected succour, was not more agreeable to the Spaniards, than alarming to the Inca. He saw the power of his enemies increase; and ignorant of the source from whence they derived their supplies, or the means by which they were conveyed to Peru, he could not foresee to what a height the inundation that poured in upon his dominions might arise.

While his mind was agitated by these reflections, he learned that some of the Spaniards, in their way to Cuzco, had visited his brother Huascar, in the place where he kept him confined, and that the captive prince had represented to them the justice of his cause, and that if they would espouse it, he had promised them a quantity of treasure, vastly exceeding what he was to give for his ransom. He clearly perceived his own destruction to be inevitable, if the Spaniards should listen to this proposal; and as he well knew their insatiable thirst for gold, he had not the least doubt but that they would close in with the proposal.

To prevent which, and to save his own life, he gave orders that Huascar should be put to death; which was obeyed like all his other commands, with scrupulous punctuality. The Indians, meanwhile, daily arrived from different parts of the kingdom,

loaded with treasure. A great part was now amassed of what had been agreed upon, and Atahualpa assured the Spaniards, that the only reason why the whole was not brought in, was the remoteness of the provinces where it was deposited.

But such vast piles of gold, presented continually to the view of needy soldiers, had so inflamed their avarice, that it was impossible any longer to restrain their impatience to obtain possession of this rich booty. The whole, except some vessels of curious workmanship, reserved as a present for the emperor, was melted down, and after deducting a fifth for the emperor, there remained one million five hundred and twenty-eight thousand and five hundred pesos, to Pizarro and his followers, besides a hundred thousand pesos as a donative to Almagro, and his soldiers. The festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, was the day chosen for the division of this large sum; it began with a solemn invocation with the name of God, and with ridiculous grimace, pretended (for they could not be in earnest) they expected the guidance of heaven, in distributing those wages of iniquity. Eight thousand pesos, equal to as many pounds sterling in the present century, fell to the share of each horseman, and half that sum to each foot-soldier. Pizarro and his officers received dividends in proportion to their rank.

There is no record in history, of a sum so great ever being divided among so small a number of soldiers. Many of them having thus unexpectedly acquired, what they deemed a competency, were so impatient to retire, and spend the remainder of their days in their native country, that they demanded with clamorous importunity their discharge. Pizarro, sensible that from such men he could expect neither enterprize in action, nor fortitude in suffering, persuaded at the same time that wherever they went, the display of their wealth, would allure other adventurers, granted their suit without reluctance, and permitted above sixty of them to accompany his brother Ferdinand, whom he sent to Spain with an account of his success, and the present destined for the emperor.

The treasure being now divided among the Spaniards, the Inca demanded his liberty agreeably to their promise. Pizarro, instead of fulfilling this, had secretly determined to take away his life. Though he had seized the Inca, in imitation of Cortes's conduct towards the Mexican monarch, he was destitute of the talents for carrying on the same artful policy, by which he might have derived still greater advantages, from being master of his person. Atahualpa is allowed by the Spanish historians to be a prince of greater abilities than Montezuma, and penetrated more thoroughly into the character and intentions of the Spaniards. Mutual suspicion and distrust soon took place between them. Almagro and his followers, from selfish motives, demanded his life;

but the unhappy prince inadvertently contributed to hasten his own fate; during his confinement, he had attached himself with peculiar affection to Ferdinand Pizarro, and Hernando Soto, who had behaved with more decency and attention to the captive monarch, than the other officers. Soothed with such respect from persons of high rank, he delighted in their society. But in the presence of Pizarro he was overawed and uneasy; this soon became mingled with contempt.

He considered that among all the European arts, that of reading and writing the most to be admired. He long deliberated with himself, whether he should consider it as a natural or an acquired talent. In order to determine this, he desired one of the soldiers who guarded him, to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. This he shewed to several Spaniards, asking its meaning; and to his amazement they all returned the same answer. At length Pizarro entered; and on presenting it to him, he blushed, and with some confusion was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment Atahualpa considered him as a mean person, less instructed than his own soldiers; and he had not address enough to conceal the sentiments with which this discovery inspired him. To be the object of a barbarian's scorn, so mortified the pride of Pizarro, and excited such resentment in his breast, as added force to all the other considerations which prompted him to put the Inca to death.

But that he might not be alone responsible for the commission of so violent and unjust an action, he resolved to try him with all the formalities observed in the criminal courts in Spain. Pizarro himself, and Almagro, with two assistants, were appointed judges, with full power to acquit or to condemn; an attorney-general was named to carry on the prosecution in the king's name; counsellors were chosen to assist the prisoner in his defence; and clerks were appointed to record the proceedings of the court.

Before this mock tribunal a charge was exhibited altogether so absurd, that the effrontery of Pizarro in making it the ground of a serious procedure is as surprising as his injustice in depriving the monarch of a great empire of his liberty, and then bring him to trial for exercising his sovereignty, agreeably to the known customs and laws established before the Spaniards ever came amongst them; and over whom they had no jurisdiction.

To judges predetermined in their opinion, the accusations appeared sufficient. They pronounced Atahualpa guilty, and condemned him to be burned alive. Friar Valverdi prostituted the authority of his sacred function to confirm this sentence, and by his signature warranted it to be just.

Astonished at his fate, Atahualpa endeavoured to avert it by his tears, by promises and by entreaties, that he might be sent to Spain, where a monarch would be the arbiter of his fate. The



unfeeling heart of Pizarro was never softened by pity. He ordered him to be led instantly to execution; and what added to the bitterness of his last moments, the same monk who had just ratified his doom, offered to console, and attempted to convert him; and promised to obtain a mitigation of his punishment, if he would embrace the christian faith. The dread of a cruel death extorted from the trembling victim a desire of receiving baptism. The ceremony was performed; and Atahualpa, instead of being burned, was strangled at the stake. But it remains on record for the credit of the Spanish nation, that even among the profligate adventurers which were sent to conquer and desolate the New World, there were persons who retained some of the Castilian generosity and honour.

Though Ferdinand Pizarro and Soto were sent off on separate commands before the trial of the Inca, there were others who opposed this odious transaction. Several officers, and amongst those some of the greatest reputation, and most respectable fame in the service, not only remonstrated, but protested against this measure of their general, as disgraceful to their country, as repugnant to every maxim of equity, as a violation of public faith, and an usurpation of jurisdiction over an independent monarch, to which they had no title. But their endeavours were vain; the greater number, such as held every thing to be lawful that was advantageous, prevailed. History, however, records the unsuccessful exertions of virtue with applause, and the Spanish writers have not failed to preserve the names of those who made the laudable effort to save their country from the infamy of having perpetrated such a crime.

After the execution of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty, expecting that a young man without experience would prove a more passive instrument in his hands than an ambitious monarch, who had been accustomed to independent command. The people of Cuzco, and the adjacent country acknowledged Monco Capac, a brother of Huascar, as Inca; but the authority of the Incas was dissolved by the violent convulsions into which the empire had been thrown: first by the civil wars between the two brothers, and then by the invasion of the Spaniards. They had seen the monarch suffer an ignominious death by the hands of strangers; many of the descendants of the sun had been cut off by Atahualpa: their influence in the state was lost, and the accustomed respect to that sacred race sensibly diminished.

The general who commanded for Atahualpa in Quito, seized the brother and children of his master, and put them to a cruel death, and endeavoured to establish a separate kingdom for himself.

Pizarro no longer hesitated to advance to Cuzco; he had re-

ceived considerable reinforcements: the account of the wealth acquired at Caxamalca, operated as he had foreseen. No sooner did his brother Ferdinand arrive at Panama, and display their riches to their astonished countrymen, than fame spread the account with such exaggeration, through all the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, that the governors of Guatemala, Panama, and Nicaragua, could hardly restrain the people from abandoning their possessions, and crowding to that inexhaustible source of wealth, which seemed to be opened in Peru.

In spite of every check, such numbers resorted thither, that Pizarro began his march at the head of five hundred men, after leaving a considerable garrison at St. Michael, under the command of Benalcazar. The Peruvians had assembled some large bodies of troops to oppose his progress; several fierce encounters happened. But they terminated like all the actions in America, a few Spaniards were killed or wounded, and the natives put to flight, with incredible slaughter. Pizarro at length forced his way into Cuzco, and quietly seated himself in that capital.

The riches found there exceeded in value, what had been received as Atahualpa's ransom.

In their march to Cuzco, the son of Atahualpa, whom Pizarro had invested with the ensigns of royalty, died: and as the Spaniards neglected to appoint another in his place, Manco Capac seems to have been universally recognized. Benalcazar, who had been left governor of St. Michael, an able and enterprising officer, was ashamed to be idle while his brethren were in arms, and in action: and impatient to have his name distinguished among the conquerors of the New World, set out to attempt the reduction of Quito, leaving a sufficient force to protect the infant settlement intrusted to his care, which was augmented by fresh recruits from Panama and Nicaragua.

At Quito he was informed by some of the natives, that Atahualpa had left the greatest part of his treasures. After marching through a mountainous country, covered with woods, and though often attacked by the best troops in Peru, conducted by a skilful leader, the valour and good conduct of Benalcazar surmounted every obstacle, and he entered Quito with his victorious troops. But here they met with a cruel disappointment. The natives were now acquainted with the predominant passion of their invaders, and had carried off all those treasures, the prospect of which had prompted them to undertake this arduous expedition.

By this time, Ferdinand Pizarro had landed in Spain. The immense quantities of gold and silver which he carried with him, obtained him a gracious reception. In recompense of his brother's services, his authority was confirmed with new powers and

privileges, and the addition of seventy leagues along the coast, added to his former grant. Almagro received the honours he had so ardently desired. The title of Adelantado, or governor, was conferred upon him, with jurisdiction over two hundred leagues of country, stretching beyond the southern limits of the province allotted to Pizarro. Ferdinand was admitted into the military order of St. Jago, a distinction always acceptable to a Spanish gentleman; he soon after set out on his return to Peru, accompanied by many persons of higher rank than had yet served in that country. Some account of his negociations had reached Peru before he had arrived.

Almagro being informed that he had obtained the royal patent for an independent government, pretended that Cuzco, the imperial residence of the Incas, lay within its boundaries, attempted to make himself master of that important station. Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro, prepared to oppose him. Each of the contending parties, were supported by powerful adherents, and the dispute was on the point of being terminated by the sword, when Francis Pizarro arrived in the capital. Their reconciliation had never been sincere. Pizarro's treachery in engrossing all the honours and emoluments which, according to agreement, were to have been shared equally amongst them, was always present in both their thoughts.

Pizarro, conscious of his own perfidy, expected no forgiveness; and Almagro was impatient to be revenged. But, notwithstanding these incentives to hostilities, each was so well acquainted with the courage and abilities of his rival, that they dreaded the consequences of an open rupture. That evil was averted for the present, by the address and firmness of Pizarro; a new reconciliation took place; the most prominent article in this treaty was, that Almagro should attempt the conquest of Chili: and if that was not adequate to his merit, Pizarro engaged to indemnify him out of his Peruvian possessions. This agreement was confirmed with the same sacred solemnities as at their first contract, and observed with no better fidelity.

Pizarro, after he had concluded this important transaction, marched back to the countries on the sea coast, and applied himself with that persevering ardour, for which he was so eminently distinguished, to introduce a regular form of government. His natural sagacity supplied the want of science and experience. He divided the country into various districts, and appointed magistrates to preside in each. He considered himself as laying the foundation of a great empire; he deliberated with much solicitude, in what place he should fix the seat of government. Cuzco was situated in a corner of the empire, about four hundred miles from the sea, and at a greater distance from Quito.

In marching through the country, he had been struck with the



beauty and fertility of the valley of Rimac, one of the most fertile and best cultivated in Peru. There, on the banks of a small river of the same name, about six miles from Callao, the most commodious harbour in the Pacific Ocean, he founded the city known at this time by the name of Lima. Under his inspection, it advanced with such rapidity, that, in the year 1535, it soon assumed the form of a city, which, by a magnificent palace he built for himself, and the stately houses erected by several of his officers, gave, even in its infancy, some indication of its subsequent grandeur.

Almagro, in consequence of his agreement with Pizarro, began his march towards Chili; and as he was admired by his soldiers for a boundless liberality and fearless courage, his standard was followed by five hundred and seventy men; the greatest body of Europeans that had hitherto been assembled in Peru. Impatient to finish the expedition, instead of advancing along the level country, Almagro chose to march across the mountains, by a shorter route, but almost impracticable.

By calamities they suffered from fatigue, famine, and the inclemency of the climate, many of them perished; and when they descended into the fertile plains of Chili, they found there a race of men nearly resembling the warlike tribes in North America.

Though filled with wonder at the first appearance of the Spaniards, and astonished at the operations of their cavalry and fire arms, the Chilese soon recovered from their surprize, and defended themselves with obstinacy: and attacked their new enemies with more determined fierceness and courage, than any American nation had hitherto discovered.

The Spaniards, notwithstanding this formidable opposition, continued to penetrate into the country, and collected some considerable quantities of gold; but so far were they from thinking to form any settlement among such powerful neighbours, that in spite of the experience and valour of their leader, the final issue of the expedition remained extremely dubious: while they were in this painful suspense, a messenger arrived, who informed Almagro of a revolution that had unexpectedly taken place in Peru; the causes of which, as they make a necessary part of the History of America, it is expedient to trace to their source.

So many adventurers had flocked to Peru, in the year 1535, from every Spanish colony in America, and all with such high expectations of accumulating independent fortunes at once, Pizarro thought it unsafe for them to be inactive; he therefore encouraged some of the principal officers, who had lately joined him, to invade different provinces of the empire, which the Spaniards had not hitherto visited. Several large bodies were formed for this purpose, and about the time that Almagro set out for

Chili, they marched into remote districts of the country. Manco Capac, the Inca, observing the imprudence of the Spaniards in thus dividing their forces, and leaving only a small number for the defence of Cuzco, under Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro, resolved to avail himself of the advantage their weakness gave him.

Though strictly watched by the Spaniards, he found means to communicate his scheme to the persons whom he had appointed to carry it into execution. After some unsuccessful attempts of the Inca to make his escape, Ferdinand Pizarro happened at that time to arrive in Cuzco. He obtained permission of him to attend a great festival which was to be celebrated a few leagues from the capital. Under pretext of that solemnity, the chiefs of the empire were assembled. No sooner had the Inca joined them, than the standard of war was erected, and in a short time all the fighting men from Quito to Chili were in arms. Many Spaniards, living securely on the settlements allotted to them, were massacred. Several small detachments, as they marched carelessly through the country, were entirely cut off.

An army, amounting (according to the Spanish historians) to two hundred thousand men, attacked Cuzco, which the three brothers attempted to defend, with only one hundred and seventy Spaniards. Another numerous body invested Lima, and kept the governor close shut up. The communication between the two cities was cut off; the very great forces of the Peruvians spreading over the country, interrupted every messenger: which kept the two parties in Cuzco and Lima ignorant of the fate of each other.

At Cuzco, where the Inca commanded in person, they made their greatest effort. During nine months they carried on the siege with incessant ardour, and in various forms; and though they displayed not the undaunted ferocity of the Mexican warriors, they conducted their operations with sagacity. They endeavoured to imitate the Spaniards in their discipline, and use of their arms, which they had taken from those they had slain. Their bravest warriors were armed with spears, swords, and bucklers: some appeared in the field with Spanish muskets, and had acquired skill and resolution enough to use them. The Inca, and a few of the boldest were mounted on horses, like Spanish cavaliers, with their lances. In spite of their valour, heightened by despair, with which the three brothers defended Cuzco, Manco Capac recovered possession of one half of his capital; and before the Spaniards could drive him out of it, they lost Juan Pizarro, the best beloved of all the brothers, together with some persons of note. Exhausted by fatigue, distressed with want of provisions, and despairing any longer of being able to resist an enemy, whose numbers daily increased, the soldiers became impatient to abandon Cuzco, in hopes of joining their countrymen, if any sur-

vived, or of forcing their way to the sea, and finding some means of escaping from a country which had been so fatal to the Spanish name.

At this critical moment, Almagro appeared suddenly in the neighbourhood of Cuzco. By the same messenger who brought him the intelligence of the Inca's revolt, he received the royal patent creating him governor of Chili, and defining the limits of his jurisdiction. Upon considering the tenor of it, he concluded it was manifest beyond contradiction, that Cuzco lay within the boundaries of his jurisdiction. He was therefore equally desirous to prevent the Peruvians from recovering possession of their capital, and wrest it out of the hands of the Pizarros.

Almagro, unacquainted with events which had happened in his absence, and solicitous of gaining every intelligence necessary, advanced slowly towards the capital, and with great circumspection, various negotiations with both parties were set on foot. The Inca at first endeavoured to gain the friendship of Almagro, but despairing of any cordial union with a Spaniard, after many fruitless attempts to accomplish it, he attacked him by surprise with a numerous body of chosen troops. These were repulsed with great slaughter, and a great part of their army dispersed, and Almagro marched to the gates of Cuzco without interruption. The Pizarros had rendered themselves odious by their harsh domineering manners, while the generous, open, affable temper of Almagro gained him many adherents of the Pizarros.

Encouraged by this defection, he advanced towards the city by night, surprised the sentinels, or was admitted by them, and immediately invested the house where the two brothers resided, and compelled them, after an obstinate resistance, to surrender at discretion. Almagro's claim of jurisdiction over Cuzco was universally acknowledged, and a form of administration established in his name. In this conflict only two or three persons were killed, but it was soon followed by scenes more bloody.

Francis Pizarro having dispersed the Peruvians who had invested Lima, and received some considerable reinforcements from Hispaniola and Nicaragua, ordered five hundred men, under the command of Alonzo de Alvarado, to march to Cuzco, and relieve his brothers. This body advanced near to the capital, before they knew that they had an enemy more formidable than Indians to encounter. They were astonished when they beheld their countrymen posted on the banks of the river Abancay to oppose their progress. Almagro wished rather to gain, than conquer them, and endeavoured by bribes and promises to seduce their leader.

The fidelity of Alvarado was not to be shaken, but his talents for war were not equal to his integrity. Almagro amused him with various movements, the meaning of which he could not comprehend, while a large detachment of chosen soldiers passed the river



in the night, surprized his camp, and took him prisoner, with his principal officers, after having routed his troops before they had time to form.

Had Almagro known as well how to improve, as to gain, a victory, this event must have been decisive. Roderigo Orgognez, an officer of great abilities, who had served under the Constable Bourbon, when he led the imperial army to Rome, had been accustomed to bold and decisive counsels, advised him instantly to issue orders for putting to death Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro, Alvarado, and a few other persons whom he could not hope to gain, and to march directly to Lima, before the governor had time to prepare for his defence. But Almagro, though he saw at once the utility of this counsel, had not suffered himself to be influenced by sentiments like those of a soldier of fortune, grown old in the service, or the chief of a party who had drawn his sword in a civil war. Feelings of humanity restrained him from shedding the blood of his opponents; and dreaded being deemed a rebel, for entering a province which the king had allotted to another.

As he was solicitous that his rival should be considered the aggressor, he marched back to Cuzeo, to wait his approach. Pizarro, whose spirit had remained unshaken under the rudest shock of adversity, was almost overwhelmed with such a tide of misfortunes, as now at once poured in upon him. But he was preserved from sinking under it, by the necessity of attending to his own safety, and the desire of revenge. He took measures for both with his usual sagacity.

The command which he had of the sea coast, by which he was enabled to receive supplies both of men and military stores, gave him an advantage which his rival could not expect. As it was his interest to gain time, he had recourse to arts, which he had before practised with success, and Almagro was weak enough to be amused with a prospect of terminating their differences, by some amicable accommodation. Pizarro, by varying his proposals, and shifting his ground, when it suited his purpose, protracted the negociations for several months, in which time, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado, found means to corrupt the guard of soldiers, to whose care they were intrusted, and not only escaped themselves, but persuaded sixty of the men, who had formerly guarded them, to accompany them in their flight.

One of the brothers being now at liberty, the governor by another act of perfidy procured the release of the other. He proposed that every point in controversy should be submitted to their sovereign; that until his decision was known, each should possess whatever part of the country he now occupied; that Ferdinand Pizarro should be set at liberty, and return instantly to Spain, together with the officers whom Almagro proposed to send thither,

to justify his claims. Notwithstanding the design of this artifice was so obvious, and the insincerity of the governor had been so often experienced, yet did Almagro, with credulity approaching to infatuation, conclude an agreement on these terms.

No sooner had Ferdinand Pizarro recovered his liberty, than the governor threw off the mask; the treaty was forgotten, pacific and conciliating measures were no more mentioned; he openly declared that in the field, and not in the cabinet, by arms, and not by negociation, was their difference to be adjusted; that it must now be determined who must be master of Peru.

His preparations were so rapid, that seven hundred men were soon ready to march against Cuzco. The command of these was given to his two brothers, who were urged on by the desire of vengeance, and that rancorous enmity flowing from family rivalry; they in vain attempted to march across the mountains, in the direct road from Lima to Cuzco, but were forced to alter their route, by a march towards the south, along the coast as far as Nasca; and then turning to the left, penetrated through the defiles in that branch of the Andes, which lay between them and the capital.

Almagro, instead of defending those difficult passes, waited the approach of the enemy in the plain of Cuzco. He was induced to take this resolution for two reasons: his followers amounted only to five hundred men, and he was afraid of weakening such a feeble body, by sending any detachment towards the mountains. His cavalry far exceeded those of the enemy, both in number and discipline, and it was only in an open country that he could avail himself of that advantage.

The Pizarros, after surmounting the difficulties and obstructions which arose in their march through the desert, and horrid regions which lay in their way to Cuzco, at length appeared in the plain, where Almagro's forces were drawn up ready to receive them. Though the countrymen and subjects of the same sovereign, and each with the royal standard displayed; and though they beheld the surrounding mountains, covered with a vast number of Indians, assembled to enjoy the spectacle of their mutual carnage, and prepared to attack the successful party; so fell and implacable was their rancour, that not one pacific counsel, not a single proposition from either party toward an accommodation was offered.

Almagro at this time unfortunately was so worn out with the fatigues of service, to which his advanced age was unequal, that at this important crisis he could not exert his usual activity, and was obliged to commit the leading of his troops to Orgognez, who, though an officer of great merit, possessed not that ascendancy over the spirit and affections of the soldiers, as the chief whom they had been so long accustomed to follow and revere.

The conflict was fierce, and maintained by each party with equal courage; on the side of Almagro were more veteran soldiers, and a larger proportion of cavalry; but these were counterbalanced by Pizarro's superiority in numbers, and by two companies of well disciplined musketeers, which the emperor had sent from Spain, on account of the insurrection of the Indians. This small band of soldiers, regularly trained, and armed, decided the fate of the day. Wherever it advanced, horse and foot were borne down before it; Orgognez, while he endeavoured to rally and animate the troops, having received a dangerous wound, the route became general.

The barbarity of the conquerors disgraced the glory of their victory. The violence of civil rage hurried on some to slaughter their countrymen with indiscriminate cruelty; others were singled out by the meanness of private revenge, as the objects of their vengeance. Orgognez and several officers, were massacred in cold blood; above one hundred and forty fell in the field.

Almagro, though so feeble that he could not bear the motion of a horse, was carried in a litter to an eminence, which overlooked the field of battle. From thence, in the utmost agitation of mind, he viewed the various movements of both parties, and at last beheld the total defeat of his own troops, with all the passionate indignation of a leader long accustomed to victory. He endeavoured to save himself by flight, but was taken prisoner, and guarded with the strictest vigilance.

The Indians, instead of executing the resolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over; a convincing evidence of that ascendancy the Spaniards had acquired over them, as they had not courage to fall upon their enemies when one party was ruined and dispersed, and they so weakened and fatigued that they might have been attacked to advantage.

The victorious troops found in Cuzco considerable booty; consisting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treasures and partly of the wealth amassed by their antagonists from the spoils of Chili and Peru. But so far did this, and whatever the liberality of Ferdinand Pizarro, their leader, could add to it, fall below their high ideas of the recompense which they conceived due to their merit, that, unable to gratify such extravagant expectations, he had recourse to the same which his brother had employed on a similar occasion.

With this view, he encouraged his most active officers to discover and reduce various provinces which had not hitherto submitted to the Spaniards. Volunteers resorted to the standard, erected upon this occasion, with the ardour of hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's soldiers joined them, and thus was



Pizarro delivered from the importunity of his discontented friends and the dread of his ancient enemies. The death of Almagro had been determined from the moment the Pizarros had him in their power; but they were constrained to defer gratifying their vengeance, until the soldiers who had served under him, as well as some of their own followers, in whom they could not perfectly rely, had left Cuzco.

As soon as they had set out on their different expeditions, Almagro was impeached of treason formally tried, and condemned to die. Though he had often braved death with an undaunted spirit in the field, the sentence astonished him: the approach of death under this ignominious form, appalled him so much, that he had recourse to abject supplications unworthy of his former fame. He called upon the Pizarros to remember the ancient friendship between their brother and him, and how much he had contributed to the success and prosperity of their family: he reminded them of the humanity with which, in opposition to the repeated remonstrances of his own most attached friends, he had spared their lives, when they were in his power; he conjured them to pity his age and infirmities, and to suffer him to pass the remainder of his days in bewailing his crimes, and in making his peace with heaven.

The entreaties (says a Spanish historian.) of a man so much beloved, touched numbers of an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many a hard eye. But the Pizarros remained inflexible.

As soon as Almagro knew his fate to be inevitable, he met it with the dignity and fortitude of a veteran. He was strangled in prison, and afterwards publicly beheaded. He suffered in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and left one son by an Indian woman of Panama, whom, though a prisoner at that time in Lima, he named as successor to his government, pursuant to a power which the emperor had granted him.

During the civil dissensions in Peru, all intercourse with Spain was suspended; the account of the transactions there, unfortunately for the victorious party, was brought thither by some of Almagro's officers, who had left the country upon the ruin of their cause: and they related what had happened, with every circumstance unfavourable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty, were painted with all the malignity of party spirit.

Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived soon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary splendour, endeavoured to efface the impression which their accusations had made, and to justify himself by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers, clearly saw the fatal tendency of such dissensions, and they saw no other way more likely to restore order,

than by sending a person with extensive and discretionary powers, who, after viewing deliberately, the posture of affairs and enquiring on the spot, into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorized to establish such form of government, as would be most conducive to the interest of the parent state, and the welfare of the colony.

Christoval Vaca de Castro, a judge of the royal audience at Valladolid, was the man selected for this purpose, whose integrity, abilities, and firmness, justified the choice. He had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting only in concert with him, and to guard against giving any just cause of offence, to a man who had merited so highly of his country: and if Pizarro was dead, he was entrusted with a commission he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru.

This attention to Pizarro seems to have flowed rather from a dread of his power, than from any approbation of his measures; for at the very time the court seemed so cautious of irritating him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined to a prison, where he remained twenty years.

While Vaca de Castro was making preparations for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. Upon the death of Almagro, the governor considered himself the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, and proceeded to parcel it out among his own partizans, to the total exclusion of the followers of Almagro; amongst whom were many of the original adventurers, to whose valour and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his success: these murmured in secret, and meditated revenge: great numbers of them resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor permitted him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence.

The warm attachment with which every person who had served under the elder Almagro, was quickly transferred to the son, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and possessed all those qualities, which captivate the affections of soldiers. Bold, open, generous, of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercises, he seemed formed for command. His father had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments he had acquired, increased the respect of his partizans, who were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement: they began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of their misery.

Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated

some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. It was either from the native intrepidity of his mind ; or from contempt of persons, whose poverty rendered their machinations of little consequence, that he replied “ Be not afraid (said he carelessly) about my life ; it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment put him to death, who dares to harbour a thought against it.” This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme ; and Juan de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro’s education, took the lead in their consultations, with all the zeal that connexion inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendancy which he had over the mind of his pupil, gave him.

On the twenty-sixth day of June, 1541, being the sabbath at mid-day, the season of tranquility and repose in all sultry climates, Herrada at the head of eighteen of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro’s house, in complete armour, and drawing their swords, as they advanced hastily towards the governor’s palace, crying “ Long live the king but let the tyrant die.” Their associates warned of their motions by a signal, were in arms at different stations, ready to support them.

Though Pizarro was usually surrounded by such a numerous train of attendants, as suited the magnificence of the most opulent subject of the age in which he lived : yet, as he was just risen from table, and most of his own domestics had retired to their own apartments, the conspirators passed through the two outer courts of the palace unobserved. They were at the bottom of the stair-case, before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his master, who was conversing with a few friends in a large hall.

The governor, whose steady mind no form of danger could appal, starting up called for arms, and commanded Francisco de Chaves to make fast the door. But that officer did not retain so much presence of mind as to obey this prudent order, running to the top of the stair-case, wildly asked the conspirators what they meant, and whither they were going ? Instead of answering, they stabbed him to the heart, and burst into the hall. Some of the persons who were there, in a fright threw themselves from the windows, others attempted to escape ; and a few drawing their swords followed their leader to an inner apartment. The conspirators having the object of their vengeance now in view, rushed forwards. Pizarro, with no other arms than his sword and buckler, defended the entry, and supported by his half brother Alcantara and his few friends, maintained the unequal contest with intrepidity, worthy of his former exploits ; and with the vigour of a youthful combatant, “ Courage (cried he to his companions) we are yet formidable enough to make these traitors repent their audacity.” But the armour of the conspirators, protected them, while every thrust they made took effect.



Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet; his other defendants were mortally wounded. The governor, so weary that he could not wield his sword and no longer able to parry the many weapons furiously aimed at him, received a deadly thrust full in the throat, sunk to the ground and expired. As soon as he was slain, the assassins ran into the streets waving their bloody swords, and proclaiming the death of the tyrant. About two hundred of the associates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro, in solemn procession through the city; and assembling the magistrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful successor to his father in his government.

The palace of Pizarro, together with the houses of several of his adherents were pillaged by the soldiers, who had at once the satisfaction of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of those, through whose hands all the wealth of Peru had passed.

The popular qualities of Almagro and the success of the conspiracy drew many soldiers to his standard; who declared without hesitation in his favour. Almagro was soon at the head of eight hundred of the most gallant veterans of Peru. He appointed Herrada general. Notwithstanding this favourable turn of fortune the acquiescence in his government was far from being general. Pizarro had left many friends to whom his memory was dear; the barbarous assassination of a man to whom his country was much indebted, filled every impartial person with horror; by others he was considered as an usurper. The officers who commanded in some provinces, refused to recognize his authority until it was confirmed by the emperor. In others, particularly at Cuzco, the royal standard was erected, and preparations made to revenge the murder of their ancient leader.

Those seeds of discord acquired greater vigour when the arrival of Vaca de Castro was known. After a long voyage he put into a small harbour in the province of Papayan, in the year 1541, from thence he proceeded by a difficult and tedious route to Quito. In this way he received an account of Pizarro's death, and of the events which followed upon it. He immediately produced the royal commission appointing him governor of Peru. His jurisdiction was acknowledged by Benalcazar, lieutenant general for the emperor in Papayan, and by Pedro de Puellus, who in the absence of Gonzales Pizarro, commanded the troops in Quito; who had himself gone upon a fruitless expedition to the east of the Andes, where he and his followers suffered incredible hardships.

Vaca de Castro not only assumed the supreme authority, but showed that he possessed talents equal to the exigency of the momentous trust committed to him. By his influence and address he soon assembled a body of troops, that set him above all fear

of insult from the adverse party, and enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity that became his character.

Almagro observed the rapid progress of the spirit of disaffection to his cause; and that he might give an effectual check to it before the arrival of Vaca de Castro, he set out at the head of his troops for Cuzco, where the most considerable body of troops had erected the royal standard under the command of Pedro Alvarez Holguin. During his march thither, Herrada, the skilful guide of his youth, died; and from that time his measures were conspicuous for violence and want of sagacity. Holguin, with forces far inferior, was descending to the coast, at the very time that Almagro was on his way to Cuzco. By a very simple stratagem he deceived his unexperienced adversary, avoided an engagement, and effected a junction with Alvarado, an officer of note, who had been the first to declare against Almagro as an usurper.

Soon after, Vaca de Castro entered the camp with the troops which he had brought from Quito, and erected the royal standard before his own tent: he declared himself as governor, that he would discharge all the functions of general of the combined forces; and although he had not been brought up to the profession, he displayed the abilities and decision of an officer accustomed to command. As his strength was superior to that of the enemy, he was impatient to end by a battle, the contest which appeared unavoidable.

Almagro and his followers despairing of pardon, for a crime so atrocious as the murder of Pizarro, the governor, were not inclined to shun the mode of decision.

They met, September the sixteenth, 1542, at Chupas, about two hundred miles from Cuzco. The violence of civil rage, the rancour of private enmity, the eagerness of revenge, and the last efforts of despair, inspired them with such courage, that victory remained for a long time doubtful: but at last declared for Vaca de Castro. The martial talents of Francisco de Carvajal, a veteran officer, and the intrepidity of Vaca de Castro, triumphed over the bravery of their opponents, led on by young Almagro, with a gallant spirit, worthy of a nobler cause, and deserving a better fate.

Many of the vanquished who had been accessory to the assassination of Pizarro, rather than wait an ignominious doom, rushed on the swords of the enemy, and fell like soldiers. Of fourteen hundred men, the amount of combatants on both sides, five hundred lay dead on the field; and the number of the wounded was still greater. Vaca de Castro proceeded immediately to try his prisoners as rebels. Forty were condemned to suffer death as traitors, others were banished from Peru. Their leader, who made his escape from the battle, betrayed by some of his officers, was publicly beheaded at Cuzco; and in him the name of Almagro, and the spirit of his party were extinct.

During these violent commotions in Peru, the emperor and his ministers were employed in preparing regulations by which they hoped to restore tranquility, and a more perfect system of internal policy, into all their settlements in the New World. To prevent the extinction of the Indian race, called for immediate remedy; fortunately for them Bartholomew de Casas happened to be then at Madrid on a mission from a chapter of his order at Chiapa. His zeal in behalf of this unfortunate people, who so far from abating, that from an increased knowledge of their sufferings, his ardour had augmented. He eagerly seized this opportunity in reviving his favourite maxims concerning the treatment of the Indians. With that moving eloquence natural to a man on whose mind the scenes which he had beheld, had made a deep impression, he described the irreparable waste of the human species in the New World; the Indian race almost totally swept away on the islands in less than fifty years, and hastening to extinction on the continent with the same rapidity.

With a decisive tone, he imputed all this to the exactions and cruelty of his countrymen, and positively insisted that nothing could prevent the depopulation of America, but by declaring the natives freemen, and treating them as such. Not content with thus verbally asserting the rights of this oppressed people, he published a celebrated treatise, in which he related the horrid cruelties of his countrymen.

The emperor was deeply affected with the recital of so many actions shocking to humanity. To relieve the Indians, as well as to circumscribe the power of his own subjects in the New World, he framed a body of laws, containing many salutary appointments with respect to the constitution and powers of the supreme council of the Indies, and the administration of justice, both ecclesiastical and civil. These were approved by all ranks of men: but, with them were issued the following regulations, which excited universal alarm. "That as the repartimientos or shares of land seized by several persons, appeared to be excessive, the royal audiences were empowered to reduce them to a moderate extent: that upon the death of any conqueror or planter, the lands and Indians granted to him shall not descend to his widow or children, but return to the crown: That the Indians shall henceforth be exempted from personal service, and shall not be compelled to carry the baggage of travellers, to labour in the mines, or dive in the pearl fisheries: That all persons who are or have been in public offices, ecclesiastics of every denomination, hospitals, and monasteries, shall be deprived of the lands and Indians allotted to them: these lands and Indians shall be annexed to the crown: That every person in Peru, who had any criminal concern in the contests between Pizarro and Almagro, should forfeit his lands and Indians." All the Spanish ministers who



had hitherto been entrusted with the direction of American affairs, opposed these regulations. But Charles, tenacious at all times of his own opinions, persisted in his resolution of publishing the laws.

That they might be carried into execution with greater vigour and authority, he authorised Francisco Tello de Sandoval, to repair to Mexico as visitador, or superintendant of that country; and to co-operate with Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, in enforcing them. He appointed Blasco Nugnez Vela, to be governor of Peru, with the title of viceroy; and to strengthen his administration, he established a court of audience at Lima, in which four lawyers of eminence were to preside as judges.

The viceroy and superintendant sailed at the same time. An account of the new laws, they were to enforce, had reached America before their arrival. The entry of Sandoval into Mexico was considered as the prelude of general ruin. Under the prudent administration of Mendoza, the people of New Spain had become accustomed to the restraints of law and authority. Happily for them, Mendoza, by long residence in the country, was so well acquainted with its state, that he knew what was for its interest, as well as what the people could bear; and Sandoval displayed a degree of moderation unexpected from a person just entering upon the exercise of power. They were disposed to grant every indulgence to the inhabitants, that was in their power. In compliance with their request, they suspended for some time, the execution of what was offensive in the new laws; they also consented, that a deputation of citizens should be sent to Europe, to lay before the emperor the apprehensions of his subjects in New Spain, with respect to their tendency and effects; and concurred with them in supporting their sentiments.

Charles, moved by the opinion of men, whose abilities and integrity were unquestionable, granted such a relaxation of the rigour of the laws, as re-established the colony in its former tranquillity. In Peru the storm wore an aspect more fierce and threatening. As the account of the new laws spread through the different settlements, the inhabitants ran together; the women in tears, and the men exclaiming against the injustice and ingratitude of their sovereign, in depriving them unheard and unconvicted of their possessions.

"Is this," cried they, "the recompense due to persons, who, without public aid, at their own expense, and by their own valour, had subjected to the crown of Castile, territories of such vast extent and opulence? shall the conquerors of this great empire, instead of receiving marks of distinction, be deprived of the natural consolation of providing for their widows and children, and leave them to depend for subsistence on the scanty supply they can extort from unfeeling courtiers. Although we are not

now able to explore unknown regions, in quest of more secure settlements, yet we still possess vigour sufficient to assert our just rights; and we will not tamely suffer them to be wrested from us." Consultations were held in different places, planning how they might oppose the entrance of the viceroy and judges; and prevent not only the execution, but the promulgation, of the laws.

Vaca de Castro had the address to divert them from their purpose; he flattered them with hopes, that when the viceroy and judges should arrive, and had leisure to examine their petitions and remonstrances, they would concur with them in endeavouring to procure them some mitigation in the rigour of the laws, which had been framed without due attention to the state of the country, or the sentiments of the people. Of all the qualities that fit men for high command, the viceroy possessed only integrity and courage: the former harsh and uncomplying, the latter bordering so frequently on rashness and obstinacy, that in his situation they were defects rather than virtues.

When he landed, he seemed to have considered himself merely as an executive officer, without any discretionary power. Regardless of what he heard of the state of the country, he adhered to the letter of the regulations with unrelenting rigour. Through all the towns which he passed, he declared the natives free. Every person in public office was deprived of his lands and servants; and, as an example of obedience, he would not suffer an Indian to carry any part of his baggage in his march to Lima, from Tumbes. Wherever he approached, amazement and consternation went before him. On entering the capital, he openly avowed "that he came to obey the orders of his sovereign: not to dispense with the laws." This harsh declaration was accompanied with a haughty deportment, and insolence of office, which rendered him odious to the people. Several persons of rank were confined, and some put to death without a trial.

Vaca de Castro was arrested, and notwithstanding the dignity of his former rank, and his merit in having prevented a general insurrection of the colony, he was loaded with chains, and shut up in the common gaol. From the time the purport of the new regulations were known, every Spaniard in Peru turned his eyes towards Gonzalo Pizarro, as the only person able to avert the ruin with which they were threatened. From all quarters, letters and addresses were sent to him, conjuring him to stand forth as their protector; offering to support him in the attempt with their lives and fortunes.

Gonzalo, though he wanted the talents of his other brothers, was equally ambitious, and of as daring courage. The behaviour of an ungrateful court, towards his brothers and himself, dwelt continually on his mind. Ferdinand, a state prisoner in

Europe, the children of the governor in custody of the viceroy, and sent on board the fleet, himself reduced to the condition of a private citizen, in a country, for the discovery and conquest of which Spain was indebted to his family. These thoughts prompted him to seek for vengeance, and assert the rights of his family, of which he now considered himself the guardian and heir.

But the veneration which every Spaniard had for his sovereign, made him shudder at the thoughts of marching in arms against the royal standard. He hesitated long, and was still unresolved: when the violence of the viceroy, the universal call of his countrymen, and the certainty of soon becoming a victim to the severity of the new laws, moved him to quit his residence at Chuquisaca de la Plata, and repair to Cuzco. All the inhabitants went out to meet him, and received him with transports of joy, as the deliverer of the colony.

In the fervour of their zeal they elected him procurator general of the Spanish nation of Peru, to solicit the repeal of the late regulations; they also commissioned him to lay before the royal audience in Lima their remonstrances, and, upon pretext of danger from the Indians, authorized him to march thither in arms. Under sanction of this nomination, Pizarro took possession of the royal treasure, appointed officers, levied soldiers, seized a large train of artillery, which Vaca de Castro had deposited in Guamanga, and set out for Lima as if he had been advancing against a public enemy.

Disaffection having now assumed a regular form, many persons of note resorted to his standard; and a considerable body of troops which the viceroy had raised to oppose his progress, deserted to him. The violence of the viceroy's administration, and his overbearing haughtiness, had become so odious to his associates, the judges of the royal audience, as well as to the people, that the judges thwarted every measure he proposed; and set at liberty the prisoners he confined; justified the malecontents, and applauded their remonstrances. The viceroy became at length so universally odious, that he was abandoned by his own guards, was seized in his palace, and carried to a desolate island on the coast, to be kept there until he should be sent home to Spain. This revolution took place while Pizarro was on his march to Lima.

The judges having now assumed the supreme direction of affairs, issued a proclamation suspending the execution of the obnoxious laws and sent a message to Pizarro, requiring him, as they had already granted whatever he could request, to dismiss his troops, and repair to Lima with fifteen or twenty attendants. It was not expected that a man so daring and ambitious would tamely comply with this requisition: but it was necessary to throw a decent veil over their conduct: Cepeda, president of the court of



audience, a pragmatical and aspiring lawyer, held a secret correspondence with Pizarro, and had already formed the plan, which he afterwards executed, of devoting himself to his service.

Pizarro now beheld the supreme power within his reach; and Carvajal, the promoter and guide of all his actions, had long fixed his opinion, that it was the only end at which Pizarro ought to aim. He, accordingly, demanded, to be made governor and captain-general of the whole province, and required the judges to grant him a commission to that effect. But the judges, from a desire of preserving some attention to appearances, seemed to hesitate, about complying. Carvajal, impatient of delay, and impetuous in all his operations, marched into the city by night, seized several officers of distinction, obnoxious to Pizarro, and hanged them without the formality of a trial. Next morning the court of audience issued a commission in the emperor's name, appointing Pizarro governor of Peru, with full powers civil as well as military; and he entered the town that day with great pomp, to take possession of his new dignity. Pizarro had scarcely begun to exercise the new powers with which he was invested, when he beheld formidable enemies rise up to oppose him.

The viceroy had been put on board a vessel by the judges, in order that he might be carried to Spain under custody of Juan Alvarez one of their own number: who, as soon as they were out at sea, touched with remorse, or moved by fear, fell at the feet of his prisoner, declaring him from that moment to be free, and that he would himself, and every person on the ship, obey him as the legal representative of their sovereign. Nugnez Vela ordered them to steer to Tumbez, where he landed, and erected the royal standard, and resumed his functions of viceroy. Several persons of note instantly avowed their resolution to support the authority.

Alarmed with these appearances of hostility, Pizarro prepared to assert the authority to which he had attained, and marched against the viceroy, as the enemy who was nearest as well as most formidable. As he was master of the public revenues in Peru, and most of the military men were attached to his family, his troops were so numerous, that the viceroy, unable to face him, retreated towards Quito, and from thence to the province of Popayan, whither Pizarro followed him; but finding it impossible to overtake him, he returned to Quito. From thence he despatched Carvajal to oppose Centeno, a bold and active officer, who had cut off his lieutenant governor, in the province of Charcas, and had declared for the viceroy, and remained himself at Quito.

Nugnez Vela by his own activity, and the assistance of Benalcazar assembled four hundred men in Popayan: with these he

marched back to Quito, disdaining the advice of some of his followers, who endeavoured to persuade him to send overtures of accommodation to Pizarro; declaring that it was only by the sword, that a contest with rebels could be decided.

Pizarro advanced resolutely to meet him. The battle was fierce and bloody; but Pizarro's veterans, pushed forwards with such regular and well directed force, that they soon began to make an impression on their enemies. The viceroy, by great exertions, in which the abilities of a commander, and courage of a soldier were equally displayed, held victory for some time in suspense. At length he fell, pierced with many wounds, and the route of his soldiers became general. His head was cut off, and placed on the public gibbet, in Quito. The troops assembled by Centeno, were dispersed soon after, by Carvajal, and he himself compelled to fly to the mountains, where he remained for several months, concealed in a cave. Every person in Peru submitted to Pizarro; and by his fleet, under Pedro de Hinojosa, he had the unrivalled command of the South Sea, had also possession of Panama, and placed a garrison in Nombre de Dios, on the opposite side of the isthmus, which rendered him master of the usual avenue of communication between Spain and Peru.

After this decisive victory, Pizarro and his followers remained for some time at Quito; and although they were transported with their victory, yet he and his confidants, were obliged to turn their thoughts sometimes to what was serious, and deliberated with much solicitude, concerning the parts he ought now to take. Carvajal had from the beginning, warned Pizarro that in the career on which he was entering, it was in vain to think of holding a middle course; that he must either boldly aim at all or attempt nothing.

Upon receiving an account of the victory at Quito, he remonstrated to him in a letter, and in a tone still more peremptory, "you have usurped (said he) the supreme power in this country, in contempt of the emperor's commission to another. You have marched in hostile array, against the royal standard; you have attacked the representative of your sovereign in the field, have defeated him, and cut off his head. Think not that a monarch will forgive such insults on his dignity; or that any reconciliation with him can be cordial or sincere. Depend no longer on the precarious favour of another. Assume yourself the sovereignty over a country, to the dominion of which your family has a title, founded on the rights both of discovery and conquest. It is in your power to attach every Spaniard in Peru, of any consequence, inviolably to your interest, by liberal grants of land and Indians; or by instituting ranks of nobility; of creating titles of honour, similar to those which are courted with so much eagerness in Europe. By establishing orders of knighthood, with privileges and

distinctions like those in Spain, you may bestow a gratification upon the officers in your service, suited to the idea of military men. Nor is it to your country only that you ought to attend; endeavour to gain the natives. By marrying the Coya or daughter of the sun, next in succession to the crown, you will induce the Indians, out of veneration for the blood of their ancient princes, to unite with the Spaniards in supporting your authority. Thus, at the head of the principal inhabitants of Peru as well as the new settlers there, you may set at defiance the power of Spain, and repel with ease any feeble force which it can send at such a distance."

Cepeda, the lawyer, who was now Pizarro's confidential counsellor, warmly seconded Carvajal's exhortations. Pizarro listened attentively to both, and contemplated with pleasure the object they presented to his view. But, happily for the tranquility of the world, few men possess that superior strength of mind, and extent of abilities, which are capable of forming and executing such daring schemes. The mediocrity of Pizarro's talents, circumscribed his ambition within more narrow limits. He confined, his views to obtaining from the court of Spain, a confirmation of the authority which he now possessed; and for that purpose he sent an officer of distinction thither, to represent his conduct in such a favourable light, as that the emperor might be induced to continue him in his present station.

While Pizarro was deliberating with respect to the part he should take, consultations were held in Spain concerning the measures which ought to be pursued: the court had received intelligence of the insurrection against the viceroy: of his imprisonment, and Pizarro's usurpation. At first view, the actions of Pizarro and his party appeared so repugnant to the duty of subjects towards their sovereign, that the greater part of the ministers insisted on declaring them instantly guilty of rebellion, and on proceeding to punish them with rigour. But innumerable obstacles presented themselves. The strength and glory of the Spanish armies were then employed in Germany. To transport any respectable body of troops so remote as Peru, appeared almost impossible, as the treasury had been drained of money to support the emperor's war in Europe.

Nothing, therefore, remained, but to attempt by lenient measures, what could not be effected by force; with this view they appointed Pedro de la Gasca, a priest and counsellor of the inquisition, who had been employed by government in affairs of trust and confidence, and which he had conducted with ability and success; displaying a gentle insinuating temper, accompanied with firmness and probity, superior to any feeling of private interest, and a cautious circumspection in concerting measures, followed by such vigour in executing them, as is rarely found united with each



other. These qualities marked him out for the function for which he was destined. The emperor warmly approved of the choice. He was invested with unlimited authority; and without money or troops, set out to quell a formidable rebellion. On his arrival at Nombre de Dios, he found Herman Mexia, an officer of note, posted there by order of Pizarro, with a considerable body of men, to oppose the landing of any hostile forces. But Gasca came in such pacific guise, with a train so little formidable, and with a title of no such dignity as to excite terror, that he was received with much respect; for he assumed no higher title than that of president of the court of audience in Lima.

From Nombre de Dios he advanced to Panama; and was treated with the same respect by Hinojosa, whom Pizarro had entrusted with the government of that town, and the command of the fleet stationed there. In both places, he held the same language, declaring that he was sent by his sovereign as a messenger of peace, not as a minister of vengeance: that he came to redress all grievances, to revoke the laws which had excited alarm; and to re-establish order and justice in Peru. His mild deportment, the simplicity of his manners, the sanctity of his profession, and a winning appearance of candour, gained credit to his declarations. Hinojosa, Mexia, and several other officers of distinction, were gained over to his interest, and waited only a decent pretext for declaring openly in his favour.

This, the violence of Pizarro soon gave them. He sent a new deputation to Spain to justify his conduct; and to insist in the name of all the communities in Peru, for a confirmation of the government to himself during his life. The persons entrusted with this commission, intimated the intention of Pizarro to the president, and required him, in his name, to depart from Panama, and return to Spain. To Hinojosa they had secret instructions, directing him to offer Gasca fifty thousand pesos, if he would comply willingly with what was demanded of him; and, if he should continue obstinate, to cut him off, either by assassination or poison. Hinojosa, amazed at this precipitate resolution of setting himself in opposition to the emperor's commission, and disdaining to execute the crimes pointed out in his secret instructions, publicly acknowledged the president as his only lawful superior. The officers under his command did the same. Such was the contagious influence of the example, that it reached even the deputies who had been sent to Lima; and, at the time when Pizarro expected to hear of Gasca's death, or his return to Spain, he was informed that he was master of the fleet, of Panama, and of the troops stationed there.

Provoked almost to madness by an event so unexpected, he openly declared war; and to give some colour of justice to his proceedings, he appointed the court of audience at Lima to try

Gasca, for the crimes of having seized his ships, seduced his officers, and prevented his deputies from proceeding on their voyage to Spain. Cepeda did not scruple to prostitute his dignity as judge, by finding Gasca guilty of treason, and condemned him to death on that account. Wild and ridiculous as this may appear, it was imposed on the low adventurers with which Peru was peopled, by the semblance of a legal sanction, warranting Pizarro to carry hostilities on against a convicted traitor. Soldiers accordingly resorted to his standard from every quarter, and he was soon at the head of a thousand men, the best equipped that had ever taken the field in Peru.

Gasca, on his part, seeing that force must be employed, was assiduous in collecting troops from different places, and with such success, that he was soon in a condition to detach a squadron of his fleet, with a considerable body of soldiers, to the coast of Peru. Their appearance excited a dreadful alarm; and though they did not for some time attempt to make any descent, yet they set ashore at different places, persons with copies of the act of general indemnity, and the revocation of the late edicts; and who made known every where the pacific intentions and mild temper of the president. The effect of spreading this information was wonderful.

All who were dissatisfied with Pizarro, all who retained any sentiments of fidelity to their sovereign, meditated revolt. Some openly deserted a cause they considered now as unjust. Centeno left his cave, and having assembled about fifty of his former adherents, almost without arms, entered Cuzco by night, and though it was defended by five hundred men, he rendered himself master of that capital. Most of the garrison ranged themselves under his banners, and he had soon the command of a respectable body of troops.

As the danger from Centeno's operations was the most urgent, Pizarro instantly set out to oppose him. Having provided horses for his soldiers, his march was rapid. But every morning he found his force diminished by numbers who had left him during the night; and though he became suspicious to excess, and punished without mercy, all whom he suspected, the rage of desertion was too violent to be checked. Before he got within sight of the enemy at Huarina, near the lake Titicaca, he could only muster four hundred men. But those he considered as soldiers of tried attachment, on whom he might depend. They were the boldest and most desperate of his followers, conscious, like himself, of crimes, for which they could hardly expect forgiveness; and without any other hope but the success of their arms. With these he did not hesitate to attack Centeno's troops, though double in number to his own.

The royalists did not decline the combat. It was the most obstinate and bloody that had ever been fought in Peru. The intrepid valour, and the superiority of Carvajal's military talents prevailed, and triumphing over numbers, a complete victory was gained. The booty was immense, and the treatment of the vanquished cruel.

By this signal success, the reputation of Pizarro was re-established, and being now considered as invincible in the field, his army increased daily. But this victory was more than counterbalanced by events which happened in other parts of Peru.

Pizarro had scarcely left Lima, when the citizens, weary of his oppressive dominion, erected the royal standard; and Aldana, with a detachment of soldiers from the fleet, took possession of the town: at the same time Gasca landed at Tumbes with five hundred men; as his numbers augmented fast, he advanced into the interior of the country. His behaviour still continued to be gentle and unassuming; he expressed on every occasion, his ardent wish of putting an end to the contest without bloodshed. He upbraided no man for past offences, but received them as a father receives his penitent children, returning to a sense of their duty. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops in the valley of Xauxa on the road to Cuzco; there he remained for some months, that he might have time to make another attempt towards an accommodation with Pizarro, and also that he might train his new soldiers to the use of arms, and accustom them to discipline, before he led them against a body of victorious troops. Pizarro, elated with success, and having now a thousand men under his command, refused to listen to any terms, although Cepeda, together with several officers, and Carvajal himself, gave it as their advice, to close with the president's offer, of a general indemnity, and the revocation of the obnoxious laws.

Gasca having tried in vain every expedient to avoid embroiling his hands in the blood of his countrymen, advanced at the head of sixteen hundred men, towards Cuzco. Pizarro, confident of victory, suffered the royalists to pass all the rivers without opposition, and to advance within four leagues of the capital, flattering himself that a defeat in such a situation would render a retreat impracticable, and at once terminate the war. He then marched out to meet the enemy. Carvajal chose his ground, and made a disposition of the troops, with the discerning eye, and profound knowledge, of the art of war, which were conspicuous in all his operations.

As the two armies moved forward to the charge, the appearance of each was singular. Pizarro's men, enriched with the spoils of the most opulent country in America; every officer, and almost all the private men, were clothed in silk stuffs, or brocade, embroidered with gold and silver; and their horses, their



arms, and standards, were adorned with all the pride of military pomp. That of Casca, though not so splendid, exhibited what was no less striking. Himself accompanied by the archbishop of Lima, the bishop of Quito, and Cuzco, and a great number of ecclesiastics, marching along the lines, blessing the men, and encouraging them to a resolute discharge of their duty. When both were just ready to engage, Cepeda set spurs to his horse, galloped off, and surrendered himself to the president; several other officers of note followed his example. The revolt of persons of such high rank struck all with amazement. Distrust and consternation spread from rank to rank; some silently slipped away, others threw down their arms, but the greater number went over to the royalists. Carvajal, and some leaders employed authority, threats, and entreaties, to stop them, but in vain; in less than half an hour, a body of men, which might have decided the fate of the Peruvian empire, was totally dispersed. Pizarro, seeing all lost, cried out in amazement to a few officers, who still faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do?" "Let us rush," replied one of them, "upon the enemy's firmest battalion, and die like Romans."

Dejected with such reverse of fortune, he had not spirit to follow this soldierly counsel; and with a tameness disgraceful to his former fame, he surrendered to one of Gasca's officers; Carvajal endeavouring to escape, was overtaken and seized. Gasca, happy in this bloodless victory, did not stain it with cruelty. Pizarro, Carvajal, and a small number of the most notorious offenders, were punished capitally. Pizarro was beheaded the day after he surrendered. He submitted to his fate with a composed dignity, and seemed desirous to atone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed. The end of Carvajal was suitable to his life. On his trial he offered no defence. When the sentence, adjudging him to be hanged, was pronounced, he carelessly replied, "One can die but once." In the interval between the sentence and execution, he discovered no signs of remorse for the past, or solicitude about the future, scoffing at all who visited him, in his usual sarcastic vein of mirth, with the same quickness of repartee and pleasantry, as at any other period of his life. Cepeda, more criminal than either, ought to have shared the same fate, but the merit of having deserted his associates at such a critical moment, and with such decisive effect, saved him from immediate punishment. He was sent as a prisoner to Spain, and died in confinement.

On the death of Pizarro, the malecontents in every corner of Peru laid down their arms, and tranquility seemed to be perfectly re-established. But two very interesting objects still remained to occupy the president's attention. The one was to find employment immediately for a multitude of turbulent daring adventu-

ers, with which the country was filled; as might prevent them from exciting new commotions. The other to reward those, to whose loyalty and valour he was indebted for his success. The former of these he accomplished by appointing Pedro de Valdivia to prosecute the conquest of Chili; and by empowering Diego Centeno to undertake the discovery of the vast regions bordering on the river De la Plata: the reputation of these leaders, and the hopes of bettering their condition, allured many desperate soldiers to follow their standards, and drained that part of the country of a large portion of that inflammable mutinous spirit which Gasca dreaded. The latter was an affair of great difficulty. The claimants were very numerous.

That he might have leisure to weigh the comparative merits of their several claims, he retired with the archbishop of Lima to a village twelve leagues from Cuzco. There he spent several days in allotting to each a district of land and a number of Indians, in proportion to his idea of their past services.

But that he might get beyond the reach of the fierce storm of clamour and rage which he foresaw would burst out on the publication of the decree, he set out for Lima, leaving the instrument of partition sealed up, with orders not to open it for some days after his departure. As he expected, so it happened, but by his prudent management the discontented were appeased, and order was established. Having now accomplished every object of his mission, Gasca longed to return to a private station. He committed the government of Peru to the court of audience, and set out for Spain, where he was received with universal applause. Men less enterprising and desperate, and more accustomed to move in the path of sober and peaceable industry, settled in Peru, and the royal authority was gradually established as firmly there, as in any other Spanish colonies.









# **HISTORY OF AMERICA.**

**VOL. II.**





# HISTORY OF AMERICA.

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COLUMBUS, in his third voyage, having attained the great object of his ambition, by discovering the continent of America; his success produced a number of adventurers from all nations; the year before this, Sebastian Cabot, in the service of Henry the Seventh of England, discovered the Northern continent, of which it is intended now explicitly to treat. The questions which first present themselves to our notice are, From what part of the Old World has America been peopled? and how accomplished? Few questions in the history of mankind have been more agitated than these. Philosophers and men of learning and ingenuity, have been speculating upon them ever since the discovery of the American Islands by Columbus. But notwithstanding all their labours, the subject still affords an ample field for the researches of the man of science, and for the fancies of the theorist.

It has been long known that an intercourse between the old continent and America, might be carried on with facility, from the north-west extremities of Europe and the north-east boundaries of Asia. In the year 982, the Norwegians discovered Greenland and planted a colony there. The communication with that country was renewed in the last century by Moravian missionaries, in order to propagate their doctrines in that bleak uncultivated region. By them we are informed that the north-west coast of Greenland is separated from America by a very narrow strait; that at the bottom of the bay it is highly probable they are united; that the Esquimeaux of America, perfectly resemble the Greenlanders, in their aspect, dress, and manner of living; and that a Moravian missionary, well acquainted with the language of Greenland, having visited the country of the Esquimeaux, found, to his astonishment, that they spoke the same language, and were, in every respect, the same people. The same species of animals, are also found in the contiguous regions. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the deer, the roe-buck, and the elk, frequent the forests of North America, as well as those in the north of Europe.

Other discoveries have proved, that if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow strait. From this part of the old continent also, inhabitants may have passed into the new; and the resemblance between the Indians of America and the eastern inhabitants of Asia, would induce us to conjecture, that they have a common origin. This opinion is adopted by the celebrated doctor Robertson, in his History of America. The more recent and accurate discoveries of that illustrious navigator, Cooke, and his successor, Clarke, have brought the matter still nearer to a certainty.

The sea, from the south of Behring's straits, to the crescent of isles between Asia and America, is very shallow. It deepens from these straits (as the British seas do from those of Dover) till the soundings are lost in the Pacific Ocean; but that does not take place but to the south of the isles. Between them and the straits is an increase from 12 to 54 fathoms, except only of St. Thaddeus-Noss, where there is a channel of a greater depth.

From the volcanic disposition, it has been judged probable, not only that there was a separation of the continents at the straits of Behring, but that the whole space from the isles to the small opening, had once been occupied by land; and that the fury of the watery element, actuated by that of fire, had in some remote times, subverted and overwhelmed the tract, and left the islands as monumental fragments.

There can be no doubt that our planet has been subject to great vicissitudes since the deluge: ancient and modern historians confirm this truth, that lands are now ploughed, over which ships formerly sailed; and that they now sail over lands, which were formerly cultivated: earthquakes have swallowed some lands and subterraneous fires have thrown up others: the sea retreating from its shores, has lengthened the land in some places, and encroaching upon it in others, has diminished it; it has separated some territories, which were formerly united, and formed new bays and gulfs.

Revolutions of this nature happened in the last century. Sicily was united to the continent of Naples, as Eubœa, now the Black sea, was to Bœotia. Diodorus, Strabo, and other ancient authors, say the same thing of Spain, and of Africa; and affirm, that by a violent irruption of the ocean upon the land between the mountains of Abyla and Calpe, that communication was broken, and the Mediterranean sea was formed. Among the people of Ceylon, there is a tradition, that a similar irruption of the sea, separated their island from the peninsula of India; the same thing is believed by those of Malabar, with respect to the Maldivian isles; and by the Malaysans, with respect to Sumatra.

The count de Buffon is certain, that in Ceylon the earth has lost 30 or 40 leagues, taken from it by the sea. The same author asserts, that Louisiana has only been formed by the mud of rivers. Pliny, Seneca, Diodorus, and others, report innumerable examples of similar revolutions.

In the strait which separates America from Asia, many islands are found, which are supposed to be the mountainous parts of land, formerly swallowed up by earthquakes; which appears the more probable, by the multitude of volcanoes, now known in the peninsula of Kamtschatka. It is imagined, however, that the sinking of that land, and the separation of the two continents, has been occasioned by those great earthquakes, mentioned in the history



of the Americans: which formed an æra almost as memorable as that of the deluge. We can form no conjecture of the time mentioned in the histories of the Toltecas, or of the year I. Tecpatl, when that great calamity happened.

If a great earthquake should overwhelm the isthmus of Suez, and there should be at the same time, as great a scarcity of historians, as there were in the first age of the deluge, it would be doubted in three or four hundred years after, whether Asia had ever been united by that part to Africa; and many would firmly deny it.

Whether that great event, the separation of the continents, took place before or after the population of America, it is impossible to determine; but we are indebted to the above-mentioned navigators, for settling the long dispute about the point from which it was effected. Their observations prove, that in one place the distance between continent and continent is only thirty-nine miles: and in the middle of this narrow strait, there are two islands, which would greatly facilitate the passage of the Asiatics into the New World, supposing it took place in canoes, after the convulsion which rent the two continents asunder.

It may also be added, that these straits are, even in summer, often filled with ice; in winter frozen over, so as to admit a passage for mankind, and by which quadrupids might easily cross, and stock the continent. But where, from the vast expanse of the north-eastern world, to fix on the first tribes who contributed to people the new continent, now inhabited from end to end, is a matter that has baffled human reason. The learned may make bold and ingenious conjectures, but plain good sense cannot always accede to them.

As mankind increased in numbers, they naturally protruded one another forward. Wars might be another cause of migrations. No reason appears, why the Asiatic north might not be an *officina vivorum* as well as the European. The overteeming country to the east of the Riphean mountains, must have found it necessary to discharge its inhabitants: the first great increase of people were forced forwards by the next to it; at length reaching the utmost limits of the Old World, found a new one, with ample space to occupy unmolested for ages; till Columbus, in an evil hour for them, discovered their country; which brought again new sins and new deaths to both worlds. It is impossible, with the lights which we have so recently received, to admit, that America could receive its inhabitants (that is the bulk of them) from any other place than eastern Asia. A few proofs may be added, taken from the customs or dresses, common to the inhabitants of both worlds. Some have been long extinct in the old, others remain in both in full force.

The custom of scalping, was a barbarism in use with the Scy-

thians, who carried about them at all times this savage mark of triumph. A little image found among the Kalmucs, of a Tartarian deity, mounted on a horse, and sitting on a human skin with scalps pendant from the breast, fully illustrates the custom of the ancient Scythians, as described by the Greek historian. This usage, we well know by horrid experience, is continued to this day in America. The ferocity of the Scythians to their prisoners, extended to the remotest part of Asia. The Kamtschatkans, even at the time of their discovery by the Russians, put their prisoners to death by the most lingering and excruciating torments; a practice now in full force among the aboriginal Americans. A race of the Scythians were named Anthropophagi, from their feeding on human flesh: the people of Nootka sound, still make a repast on their fellow creatures.

The savages of North America have been known to throw the mangled limbs of their prisoners into the horrible caldron, and devour them with the same relish as those of a quadruped. The Kamtschatkans in their marches never went abreast, but followed one another in the same track: the same custom is still observed by the uncultivated natives of North America. The Tungusi, the most numerous nation resident in Siberia, prick their shins with small punctures, in various shapes, with a needle: then rub them with charcoal, so that the marks become indelible: this custom is still observed in several parts of South America. The Tungusi use canoes made of birch bark, distended over ribs of wood, and nicely put together: the Canadian, and many other primitive American nations, use no other sort of boats. In fine, the conjectures of the learned, respecting the vicinity of the Old and New world, are now, by the discoveries of late navigators, lost in conviction: and in the place of an imaginary hypothesis, the place of migration is almost incontrovertibly pointed out.

This vast country extends from the 80th degree of north latitude, to the 54th degree of south latitude; and where its breadth is known, from the 35th to the 136th degree west longitude from London, stretching between eight and nine thousand miles in length, and in its greatest breadth three thousand six hundred and ninety; it embraces both hemispheres; has two summers and a double winter, and enjoys almost all the variety of climates, which the earth affords. It is washed by two great oceans: to the eastward it has the Atlantic, which separates it from Europe and Africa; to the west it has the Pacific or Great South Sea, separating it from Asia. By these seas it carries on a direct commerce with all the other three parts of the World.

Next to the extent of the New World, the grand objects which it presents to the view, must forcibly strike the eye of an observer. Nature seems to have carried on her operations upon a larger scale, and with a bolder hand, and to have distinguished the sea-

tures of this country by a peculiar magnificence. The mountains of America are much superior in height to those in the other divisions of the globe. The most elevated point of the Andes in South America, according to Don Ulloa, is twenty thousand two hundred and eighty feet above the level of the sea; which is at least two thousand one hundred and two feet, above the peak of Teneriffe, which is the highest known mountain in the ancient continent.

From the lofty and extensive mountains of America, descend rivers, with which the streams of Europe, Asia, or Africa, are not to be compared, either for length, or for the vast bodies of water, which they pour into the ocean. The Danube, the Indus, the Ganges, or the Nile, are not of equal magnitude with the St. Lawrence, the Missouri, or the Mississippi, in North America; or with the Maragnon, the Orinoco, or the La Plata, in South America.

The lakes of the New World are not less conspicuous for grandeur than its mountains and rivers. There is nothing in the other parts of the globe which resemble the prodigious chain of lakes in North America; they might with propriety, be termed inland seas of fresh water; even those of the second or third class, in magnitude, are of larger circuit (the Caspian sea excepted) than the greatest lake of the ancient continent.

Various causes have been assigned for the remarkable difference between the climate of the New continent and the Old. The opinion of the celebrated Dr. Robertson, on this subject, claims our attention. "Though the utmost extent of America towards the north, be not yet discovered, we know that it advances nearer the pole than either Europe or Asia. The latter have large seas to the north, which are open during part of the year; and even when covered with ice, the wind that blows over them is less intensely cold, than that which blows over land in the same latitudes. But in America, the land stretches from the river St. Lawrence towards the pole, and spreads out immensely to the west. A chain of enormous mountains, covered with snow and ice, runs through all this dreary region. The wind passing over such an extent of high and frozen land, becomes so impregnated with cold, that it acquires a piercing keenness, which it retains in its progress through warmer climates; and is not entirely mitigated, until it reaches the gulf of Mexico. Over all the continent of North America, a north-westerly wind and excessively cold, are terms synonymous. Even in the most sultry weather, the moment that the wind veers to that quarter, its penetrating influence is felt in a transition from heat to cold no less violent than sudden. To this powerful cause we may ascribe the extraordinary dominion of cold, and its violent inroads into the southern provinces in that part of the globe."



Of the manners and customs of the North Americans, the following is the most consistent account that can be collected from the best informed, and most impartial writers.

When the Europeans first arrived in America, they found the Indians quite naked, except those parts which the most uncultivated savages usually conceal. Since that time, however, they generally use a coarse blanket, which they obtain of the neighbouring planters, in exchange for furs and other articles. Their huts or cabins are made of stakes of wood driven into the ground, and covered with branches of trees or reeds. They lie on the floor, either on mats, or the skins of wild beasts. Their dishes are of wood, and their spoons of the skulls of wild oxen, and sometimes of laurel, a hardy wood, very suitable for the purpose; their knives and hatchets are made of flint or other stone. A kettle, and a large plate, constitute almost the whole utensils of the family. Their diet consists chiefly on what they procure by hunting; and sagamite, or pottage, is likewise one of the most common kinds of food. The most honourable furniture among them is a collection of the scalps of their enemies: with these they ornament their huts, which are esteemed in proportion to the number of this horrid sort of spoils.

The character of the Indians, is only to be known by their circumstances and way of passing through life. Constantly employed in procuring a precarious subsistence, by hunting wild animals, and often engaged in war, it cannot be expected, that they enjoy much gaiety of temper, or a high flow of spirits. They are therefore generally grave, approaching to sadness: they have none of that giddy vivacity, peculiar to some nations of Europe, but despise it. Their behaviour to those about them is regular, modest, and respectful. They seldom speak but when they have something important to observe; and all their actions, words, and even looks are attended with some meaning. Their subsistence depends entirely on what they procure with their hands; and their lives, their honour, and every thing dear to them, may be lost by the smallest inattention, to the designs of their enemies. As no particular object has power to attach them to one place, more than another, they go wherever the necessaries of life can be procured in the greatest abundance. The different tribes, or nations, when compared with civilized societies, are extremely small. These tribes often live at an immense distance: they are separated by a desert frontier, and hid in the bosom of impenetrable woods, and almost boundless forests.

There is in each society, a certain kind of government which, with very little deviation, prevails over the whole continent: their manners and way of life, are nearly similar and uniform. An Indian has no method by which he can render himself considerable among his companions, but by his personal accomplish-

ments, either of body or mind ; but as nature has not been very lavish in these distinctions, where all enjoy the same education, all are pretty much upon an equality, and will desire to remain so. Liberty is therefore the prevailing passion of the American Indians ; and their government under the influence of this sentiment, is perhaps better secured, than by the wisest political regulations. They are very far, however, from despising all sort of authority : they are attentive to the voice of wisdom, which experience has confirmed on the aged, and they enlist under the banners of the chief, in whose valour and military address, they have learned to repose a just and merited confidence.

Among those tribes which are most engaged in war, the power of the chief is naturally predominant ; because the idea of having a military leader was the first source of his superiority ; and the continued exigencies of the state requiring such a leader, will enhance it. His power, however, is rather persuasive than coercive, he is revered as a father, rather than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no prisons, no officers of justice : and, one act of ill-judged violence will pull him from his humble throne.

The elders in the other form of government, which may be considered as a mild and nominal aristocracy, have no more power. Age alone is sufficient for acquiring respect, influence, and authority ; experience alone, is the only source of knowledge among a savage people.

Among the Indians business is conducted with the utmost simplicity, and recalls to those who are acquainted with antiquity, a lively representation of the early ages. The heads of families meet together in a house or cabin, appointed for the purpose : here the business is discussed : and here those of the nation distinguished for their eloquence, or wisdom, have an opportunity of displaying their talents. Their orators like those of Homer, express themselves in a bold figurative style, more strong than refined, with gestures violent, but natural and expressive. When the business is over, and they happen to be well provided with food, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole nation partake ; the feast is accompanied with a song, in which the exploits of their forefathers are celebrated. They have dances too, but chiefly of the military kind, like the Greeks and Romans, which inspire the younger with a martial spirit.

To assist their memory they have belts of small shells (*wampum*) or beads, of different colours, each representing a different object, which is marked by their colour or arrangement. At the conclusion of every subject on which they discourse, when they treat with a foreign state, they deliver one of those belts ; for, if this ceremony should be omitted, all that they have said passes for nothing. These belts are carefully deposited in each town as the public records of the nation ; and to them they occasionally have

recourse, when any public contest happens with a neighbouring tribe. Of late, as the materials of which those belts are made have become scarce, they often give some skin in the place of the wampum; and receive in return, presents of a more valuable kind, from the commissioners appointed to treat with them; for they never consider a treaty of any weight, unless every article in it be ratified by some gratification.

It sometimes happens, that those different tribes or nations, scattered as they are, at an immense distance from one another, meet in their excursions whilst hunting. If there subsist no animosity between them, they behave in the most friendly and courteous manner; but if they happen to be in a state of war, or, if there has been no previous intercourse between them, all who are not friends are deemed enemies, and they fight with the most savage fury.

War, hunting, and fishing, are the principal employments of the men; almost every other concern is consigned to the women.

The most prevailing motive with the Indians for entering into a war, if it does not arise from an accidental rencounter, is either to revenge themselves for the death of some lost friends, or to acquire prisoners, who may assist them in their hunting, and whom they adopt into their society. These wars are either undertaken by some private adventurers, or by the whole community. In the latter case, all the young men who desire to go out to battle (for no one is compelled contrary to his inclination) give a piece of wood to the chief, as a token of their design to accompany him. The chief who is to conduct the enterprize, fasts several days, and carefully observes his dreams during that time: which the presumption natural to savages mostly renders as favourable as he could desire. A variety of other superstitious ceremonies are observed.

The war kettle is set on the fire, as an emblem that they are going out to devour their enemies; which among these nations, it is probable, was formerly the case: since they still continue to express it in clear terms, and use an emblem significant of the ancient usage. Then they despatch a cup or large shell to their allies; inviting them to join in the destruction of their enemies, and drink their blood; for like the ancient Greeks, they think that those in their alliance, must not only adopt their quarrels, but that they must also have their resentments wound up to the same high pitch with themselves.

There are no people who carry their friendships or resentments so far as they do; this naturally results from their peculiar circumstances. The Americans live in small societies, accustomed to see but few objects and few persons: to be deprived of these objects to which they are so closely attached, renders them



miserable. Their ideas are too confined to enable them to entertain just sentiments of humanity, or universal benevolence. But this very circumstance, while it makes them cruel and savage to an incredible degree, towards those with whom they are at war, adds a new force to their particular friendships, and to the common tie which unites the members of the same tribe, or those in alliance with them.

Without attending to this reflection, some facts which immediately follow would excite our wonder, without informing our reason; and we would be bewildered in a number of particulars, seemingly opposite to one another, without being sensible of the general cause from which they proceed.

Having finished all the ceremonies previous to the war, and the appointed day for setting out on their expedition has arrived, they take leave of their friends, and exchange their clothes, or whatever moveables they have, in token of mutual friendship; after which they proceed from the town, their wives and female relations, walking before, and attending them to some distance. The warriors march dressed in all their finery, and most showy apparel without any order. The chief walks slowly before them, singing the war song: while the rest observe the most profound silence. When they come up to their women, they deliver to them all their ornaments, and putting on their worst clothes, proceed on their expedition.

Every nation has its peculiar ensign or standard, which is generally a representation of some beast, bird, or fish. Those among the Five Nations, are the bear, otter, wolf, tortoise, and eagle, and by those names the tribes are usually distinguished. They have the figures of those animals pricked and painted on several parts of their bodies: and when they march through the woods, they commonly, at every encampment, cut the representation of their ensign on trees, especially after a successful campaign: marking at the same time, the number of scalps and prisoners they have taken.

Their military dress is very singular: the cut off, or pull out, all their hair, except a spot about the breadth of two crown-pieces near the top of their heads, and entirely destroy their eye brows: the lock left upon their heads, they divide into several parcels: each of which is stiffened and adorned with wampum, beads, and feathers of various kinds; the whole twisted into a form resembling the modern pompoon. Their heads are painted red down to the eyes, and sprinkled over with white down. The gristles of their ears are split almost round, and distended with wire or splinters, so as to meet and tie together at the nape of the neck: these are also hung with some ornaments, and generally bear the representation of some bird or beast. Their noses are likewise bored, and hung with trinkets or beads, and their

faces painted with various colours, so as to make an awful appearance. Their breasts are adorned with a gorget or medal of brass, copper, or some other metal; and the scalping knife hangs by a string from the neck.

The most approved qualities among Indians in war are vigilance and attention, to execute and avoid surprize; and indeed, in these arts they are superior to all other nations in the world. Accustomed to a continual wandering in the forests, their conceptions sharpened by keen necessity, and living in every respect according to nature, their external senses have a degree of acuteness which at first view appears incredible. They can trace out their enemies at an immense distance, by the smoke of their fires which they smell, and by the tracks of their feet upon the ground, imperceptible to an European eye, but which they can count with facility. It is said they can even distinguish the different nations to which they belong, and determine the precise time in which they passed; when an European with the aid of glasses could not discover the least trace of a foot step. These circumstances are of less importance as their savage enemies are equally well acquainted with them.

When they go out, therefore, they take care to avoid making use of any thing that might lead to a discovery. They light no fire to warm themselves, or to prepare their victuals: they lie close to the ground during the day, when they draw near the residence of their enemies, and travel only in the night, and marching along in files; he that closes the rear, carefully covers the tracks of his own feet, and those who preceeded him with leaves. When they halt to refresh themselves, scouts are sent out to reconnoitre the country, and beat up every place where they suspect an enemy lies concealed.

In this manner they enter unawares the villages of their foes; and while the flower of the nation are engaged in hunting, massacre all the children, women and helpless old men; or make prisoners of as many as they can manage, or have strength enough to be useful to their nation. But when the enemy is apprized of their design, and coming on in arms against them, they throw themselves flat on the ground among the withered herbs and leaves, which their faces are painted to resemble. They then allow a part to pass unobested, when all at once, with a tremendous shout, rising up from their ambush, they pour a storm of arrows or musket bullets upon their foes.

The party attacked, returns the same cry: every one shelters himself with a tree, and returns the fire of the adverse party, as soon as they raise themselves from the ground to give a second fire. Thus does the battle continue, until the one party is so much weakened, as to be incapable of further resistance. But if the force on each side continues nearly equal, the fierce spirits of the

savages, inflamed by the loss of their friends, can no longer be restrained. They abandon their distant war, and rush upon one another with clubs and hatchets in their hands, magnifying their own courage, and insulting their enemies with the bitterest reproaches. A cruel combat ensues, death appears in a thousand hideous forms, which would congeal the blood of civilized nations to behold; but which rouses the fury of savages. They trample, they insult over the dead bodies, and tear the scalp from the head. The flame continues to rage till resistance ceases; then they secure the prisoners, whose fate, if men, are a thousand times more unhappy than those who died in the field. The conquerors set up a hideous yell to lament the friends they have lost.

They approach in a melancholy severe gloom, to their own village; a messenger is sent to announce their arrival, and the women with frightful shrieks, come out to mourn their dead brothers, or their husbands. When they are arrived, the chief relates in a low voice, to the elders, a circumstantial account of every particular of the expedition. The orator then proclaims this account aloud to the people; and as he mentions the names of those who have fallen, the shrieks of the women are redoubled.

The men too join in these cries, according as each is most connected with the deceased, by blood or friendship. The last ceremony is the proclamation of victory; each individual then forgets his private misfortunes, and joins in the triumph of his nation; all tears are wiped from their eyes, and by an unaccountable transition, they pass in a moment from the bitterness of sorrow to an extravagance of joy.

But the manner in which they treat their prisoners, is the chief characteristic of the savages. The friendly affections which glow with an intense warmth within the bounds of their own villages, seldom extend beyond them. They feel nothing for the enemies of their nation but an implacable resentment. The prisoners, who have themselves the same feelings, know the intentions of their conquerors, and are prepared for them. The person who has taken the captive, attends him to the cottage, where, according to the distribution made by the elders, he is to be delivered to supply the loss of a relative. If those who receive him have their family weakened by war or other accidents, they adopt the captive into the family. But if they have no occasion for him, or their resentment for the loss of their friends be too high to endure the sight of any connected with those who were concerned in it, they sentence him to death. All those who have met with the same severe sentence being collected, the whole nation is assembled at the execution as for some great solemnity. A scaffold is erected and the prisoners are tied to a stake, where they begin their death song, and prepare for the ensuing scene of cruelty,



with the most undaunted courage. Their enemies on the other side, are determined to put it to the proof, by the most cruel and exquisite tortures.

They begin at the extremity of his body, and gradually approach his more vital parts; one plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one; and another takes a finger into his mouth and tears off the flesh with his teeth; a third thrusts the mangled finger into the bowl of a pipe made red hot, which he smokes like tobacco; then they pound his toes and fingers to pieces between two stones; they cut circles about his joints, and gashes in the fleshy parts of his limbs, which they sear immediately with red hot irons, cutting, burning, and pinching them alternately; they pull off his flesh thus mangled and roasted, bit by bit, devouring it with greediness, and smearing their faces with the blood; their passions encreasing in horror and fury, they proceed to twist the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and snapping them, while others are employed in pulling and extending the limbs in every direction so as to increase the torment. This continues often five or six hours, and sometimes (such is the constitutional strength of the savages,) for days together. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, to think what new tortures they shall inflict, and to refresh the strength of the sufferer, who, wearied out with such a variety of unheard-of torments, often falls into so profound a sleep that they apply the fire to awake him, and renew his sufferings. He is again fastened to a stake, and again they renew their cruelty: they stick him all over with matches of a wood that easily takes fire, and burns but slowly, they run sharp reeds into every part of his body, they drag out his teeth with pincers, and thrust out his eyes; and lastly, having burned his flesh from his bones with slow fires, after having mangled his body in the most shocking manner, and so mutilated his face that nothing human appears in it, after having peeled the skin from the head, and poured a heap of red hot coals or boiling water on the naked skull, they once more unbind the miserable victim; who, blind and staggering with pain and weakness, is assaulted on every side with clubs and stones, and falling into their fires at every step, until one of the chiefs, out of compassion, or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life by a club or dagger. The body is then put into a kettle, and this inhuman and horrid employment is succeeded by a feast as barbarous.

The women, forgetting the human as well as the female nature, surpass the men in cruelty, and act like furies while this scene of horror is going on: the principal persons of the nation sit around the stake looking on, and smoking their pipes without the least emotion. But what is most extraordinary, the sufferer himself, in the little intervals of his torments, smokes, appears unconcerned, and converses with his tormentors about indifferent matters. Dur-

ing the whole time of his execution, there seems a contest which shall succeed ; they by inflicting the most horrid pains, or he, by enduring them with a firmness and constancy almost above human ; not a sigh, not a groan, not a distortion of countenance, escapes him : he possesses his mind entirely in the midst of his torments : he recounts his own exploits : he informs them of the cruelties he has committed upon their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death ; that they were old women who knew not how to put a warrior to death ; and though his reproaches exasperate them to madness, he continues to insult them with their ignorance in the art of tormenting ; pointing out himself more exquisite methods, and more sensible parts of the body to be afflicted. The women have this part of courage as well as the men, and it is as rare for an Indian to behave otherwise, as it would be for an European to suffer as an Indian.

Such is the wonderful power of an early intuition, and a ferocious thirst of glory. " I am brave and intrepid," says the savage in the face of his tormentors, " I neither fear death nor torments ; those who fear them are cowards ; they are less than women : life is nothing to those who have courage ! may my enemies be confounded with despair and rage : oh ! that I could devour them and drink their blood to the last drop." But neither the intrepidity on one side, nor the inflexibility on the other, are matter of astonishment ; for vengeance and fortitude, in the midst of torments, are duties considered with them as sacred : they are the effects of their earliest education, and depend upon principles instilled into them from their infancy.

On all other occasions they are humane and compassionate. Nothing can exceed the warmth of their affection towards their friends, who consist of all those who live in the same village, or are in alliance with them ; among these all things are common ; their houses, their provisions, and their most valuable articles are not withheld from a friend ; has any one of these had ill success in hunting, his harvest failed, or his house burned, he feels no other effect of his misfortune, than it gives him an opportunity to experience the benevolence and regard of his associates. On the other hand the Indian, to the enemy of his country or his tribe, or to those who have privately offended him, is implacable. He conceals his sentiments ; he appears reconciled, until by some treachery or surprise, he has an opportunity of executing a horrible revenge. No length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment ; no distance of place great enough to protect the object ; he crosses the steepest mountains, he pierces the most impenetrable forests, and traverses the most dismal swamps and deserts, for several hundreds of miles, bearing the inclemency of the season, the fatigue of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirst, with

patience and cheerfulness, in hope of surprising his enemy, on whom he exercises the most shocking barbarities, even to the eating of his flesh. To such extremes do the Indians extend their friendship and their enmity; and such indeed is the character of all strong uncultivated minds.

The treatment of their dead shows, in glowing colours, the strength of their friendship, and warm attachment to their departed friends. When any one of the society is cut off, he is lamented by the whole; on this occasion a variety of ceremonies are performed. The body is washed, annointed, and painted. Then the women lament the loss with hideous howlings, intermixed with songs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceased and his ancestors. The men mourn also, though in a less extravagant manner. The whole village is present at the interment, and the corpse is habited in their most sumptuous ornaments. Close to the body of the deceased are placed his bow and arrows, and other weapons of war, with whatever he valued most in his lifetime, and a quantity of provisions for his subsistence on the journey which he is supposed to take. The solemnity, like every other, is attended with feasting. The funeral being ended, the relations of the deceased confine themselves to their huts, for a considerable time, to indulge their grief. After an interval of some weeks, they visit the grave and repeat their sorrow, new clothe the remains of the body, and act over again all the solemnities of the funeral.

The most remarkable funeral ceremony is what they call the feast of the dead, or the feast of souls. The day for this ceremony is appointed in the assembly of their chiefs, who give the necessary orders for every thing that may conduce to the pomp and magnificence of its celebration; and the neighbouring nations are invited to partake of the entertainment. At this time, all who have died since the preceding feast of the kind, are taken out of their graves: even those who have been interred at the greatest distance from the villages, are diligently looked for, and conducted to this general rendezvous of the dead, which exhibits a scene of horror beyond the power of description. When the feast is concluded, the bodies are drest in the finest skins which can be procured, and after being exposed for some time in this pomp, are again committed to the earth, with great solemnity, which is succeeded by funeral-games.

Their taste for war, the most striking characteristic of an Indian, gives a strong bias to their religion. The god of war whom they call Areskoui, is revered as the great god of their people. Him they invoke before they go into the field. Some nations worship the sun and moon, as symbols of the power of the great spirit. There are among them traditions of the creation of the world, of Noah's flood, &c. Like all rude nations they are strong-



ly addicted to superstition. They believe in the existence of a number of good and bad genii, or spirits who interfere in the affairs of mortals, and produce all our happiness or misery. It is from the evil genii in particular, they imagine all our diseases proceed, and it is to the good genii to whom we are indebted for a cure. Their priests or jugglers are supposed to be inspired by the good genii in their dreams, with the knowledge of future events; they are called in to the assistance of the sick, and are supposed to know the event, and in what way they must be treated. But these spirits appear to be extremely simple in their system of physic: in almost every disease they prescribe the same remedy. The patient is enclosed in a narrow cabin, in the midst of which a large stone is made red hot; on this they throw water, the steam produces a profuse sweat, they then hurry him from this hot bath, and plunge him instantly into the adjacent creek or river. This method, although it costs many their lives, often performs many remarkable cures.

They are known, however, to have considerable knowledge in the vegetable kingdom, and the white inhabitants are indebted to them for the knowledge of many powerful plants as restoratives, and antidotes to the poison of reptiles, with which the woods, in many parts of America, abound.

Although the Indian women generally bear the laborious part of domestic economy, their condition, at least among the tribes of North America, is far from being so wretched, so slavish and depressed, as has been represented by Dr. Robertson and other writers. "Their employment (says Dr. Barton,) is chiefly in their houses, except when they are raising their crops of maize, or Indian corn, at which times they generally turn out to assist their husbands and parents, but they are not compelled to do this." "You may depend on my assertion (says the same gentleman, who had ample opportunities of being informed of the customs and manners of the Indians,) that there are no people any where who love their women more than these people do, or men of better understanding, in distinguishing the merits of the opposite sex, or men more faithful in rendering suitable compensation. They are courteous and polite to their women, tender, gentle and fond even to an appearance of effeminacy. An Indian man seldom attempts to use a woman of any description with indelicacy, either of action or language." I wish we could with propriety adopt the same language when speaking of the young men of the present age, who would think it a disparagement to be compared with the untutored savage of the wilderness.

In the hunting seasons, that is, in autumn and winter, when the men are out in the forest, the whole care of the house or family rests upon the women; at these times they undergo much care, and fatigue, such as cutting wood, &c. but this labour is in part re-

lieved by the old men, whose vigour is so far diminished, as not to be able to sustain the fatigue of hunting, or the toils of martial achievements. But nothing shows the importance and respectability of the women among the Indians, more than that custom many of the tribes are in, of letting their women preside in the councils of their country: to this we may add, that several of the Florida nations have at different times, been governed by the wisdom and the prudence of female caziques.

Liberty in its fullest extent, being the darling passion of the Indians, their education is directed in such a manner as to cherish this disposition to the utmost. Hence, their children are never chastised with blows; and they are seldom even reprimanded. Reason, they say, will guide their children when they come to the use of it, and before that time their faults cannot be very great. But blows might damp their fierce and martial spirit, by the habit of a slavish motive to action. When grown up they experience nothing like command, dependence or subordination; even strong persuasion is carefully avoided by those of influence among them. No man is held in great esteem, unless he has increased the strength of his country with a captive, or adorned his hut with a scalp of one of his enemies.

Controversies among the Indians are few, and quickly decided. When any criminal matter is so flagrant as to become a national concern, it is brought under the jurisdiction of the great council; but in common cases the parties settle the dispute between themselves. If a murder be committed, the family which has lost a relation prepares to retaliate on that of the offender. They often kill the murderer: and when this happens (which is but seldom) the kindred of the last person slain, look upon themselves as much injured, and to have the same right to vengeance, as the other party.

It is common, however, for the offender to absent himself; the friends send compliments of condolence to those of the person who has been murdered. The head of the family at length appears, with a number of presents, the delivery of which, he accompanies with a formal speech: the whole ends as usual in mutual feasting, in songs and in dances. If the murder is committed by one of the same family or cabin, that family has the full right of judgment within itself; either to punish the guilty with death, or to pardon him; or to oblige him to give some recompense to the wife and children of the deceased. Instances of this kind are very rare, for their attachment to those of the same family, is so remarkably strong, that it may vie with the most celebrated friendships of fabulous antiquity.

Such, in general, are the customs and manners of the Indians. But almost every tribe has something peculiar to itself. Among the Hurons and the Natchez, the dignity of the chief is said

to be hereditary, and the right of succession in the female line. When this happens to be extinct, the most reputable matron of the tribe, we are informed, makes a choice of whom she pleases to succeed.

The Gherokees are governed by several sachems, or chiefs, elected by the different villages, as are also the Creeks and the Chactaws: the two latter punish adultery in a woman by cutting off her hair; which they will not suffer to grow, until corn is ripe, the next season; but the Illinois, for the same crime, cut off the nose and ears.

The Indians on the upper lakes are formed into a sort of empire. The emperor is elected from the eldest tribe, which is the Ottawawas; this authority is very considerable. A few years ago, the person who held this rank, formed a design of uniting all the Indian nations under his sovereignty; but this bold attempt proved unsuccessful.

In general, the Indians of America live to a great age, although it is difficult to obtain from them an exact account of the number of their years. It was asked of one, who appeared extremely old, what age he was of. I am about twenty, said he; but, upon putting the question in a different manner, and reminding him of former times, and some particular circumstances, my machee, said he, spoke to me when I was young, of the Incas: and he had seen those princes. According to this reply, there must have elapsed from the date of his machee's, or grandfather's, remembrance to that time 232 years. The Indian who made this reply, appeared to be 120 years of age: for besides the whiteness of hair and beard, his body was almost bent to the ground; without showing any other mark of debility, or suffering. This happened in 1764.

This longevity, and state of uninterrupted health, is thought by some to be the consequence in part of their vacancy from all serious thought and employment; joined also with their robust texture, and formation of their bodily organs. Were the Indians to abstain from spiritous liquors, and their destructive wars, of all races of men who inhabit the globe, they would be the most likely to extend the bounds and enjoyments of animal life to their utmost duration.

Before we take our leave of the Indian natives, let us attend to some other accounts which will set their character in a more clear and strong point of view, and rescue it from that degradation and obscurity, in which some Spanish historians have endeavoured to envelope it.

Their friendships are strong, and faithful to the last extremity; of which no further proof need be adduced, than the following anecdote of the late colonel Byrd, of Virginia, who was sent to the Cherokee nation, to transact some business with them. It happen-



ed that some of our disorderly people had just killed one or two of that nation. It was therefore proposed in their council, that colonel Byrd should be put to death, in revenge for the loss of their countryman. Among them was a chief called Silouee, who, on some former occasion, had contracted an acquaintance and friendship with colonel Byrd. He came to him every night in his tent, and told him not to be afraid for they should not kill him. After many days deliberation, contrary to Silouee's expectations, the determination of the council was, that Byrd should be put to death, and some warriors were despatched as executioners. Silouee attended them, and when they entered the tent, he threw himself between them and Byrd, and said to the warriors, "This man is my friend: before you get at him you must kill me." On which they returned, and the council respected the principle so much as to recede from their determination.

Of their bravery and address in war, we have had sufficient proofs; of their eminence in oratory we have fewer examples, because it is chiefly displayed in their own councils. One, however, we have of superior lustre: the speech of Logan, a Mingoe chief, to Lord Dunmore, when governor of Virginia, at the close of a war in which the Shawanese, Mingoes, and Delawares were united. The Indians were defeated by the Virginia militia, and sued for peace. Logan, however, disdained to be among the supplicants; but lest the sincerity of a treaty should be distrusted from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent by a messenger, the following speech to Lord Dunmore: "I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; If ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen, as they passed, pointed and said, 'Logan is the friend of the whitemen.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries done by one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance; for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear; Logan never knew fear; He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is left to mourn for Logan? not one."

Another anecdote in favour of the Indian character, related by Doctor Benjamin Franklin, deserves a place in this history. Conrad Weiser, a celebrated interpreter of Indian languages, who had been naturalized among the Six Nations, and spoke the Mohock language well, gave Franklin the following account

He was sent by our governor on a message to the council at Onondago; he called at the habitation of Canassetago, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, spread furs for him to sit on, placed before him some boiled beans and venison, and mixed some rum and water for his drink; when he was well refreshed, and had lighted his pipe, Canassetago began to converse with him; asked how he had fared the many years since they had seen each other; whence he came, and what had occasioned his journey, &c. Conrad answered all his questions, and when the discourse began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, said, "Conrad, you have lived long among the white people, and know something of their customs: I have been sometimes at Albany, and have observed that once in seven days they shut up their shops, and all assemble in the great house; tell me what it is for, and what it is they do there."

"They meet there," says Conrad, "to hear and learn good things." "I do not doubt," said the Indian, "that they tell you so, for they have told me the same; but I doubt the truth of what they say, and I will tell you my reasons. I went lately to Albany to sell my skins and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You know I generally used to deal with Hans Hanson; but I was a little inclined this time to try some other merchants. However, I called first upon Hans, and asked him what he would give for beaver. He said he would not give more than four shillings a pound, but (says he) I cannot talk on this business now, this is the day we meet together to learn good things; and I am going to the meeting. So I thought to myself, since I cannot do any business to-day, I may as well go to the meeting too: and I went with him. There stood up a man in black, and began to talk to the people very angrily. I did not understand what he said; but perceiving he looked much at me and at Hanson, I imagined he was angry at seeing me there; so I went out, sat down near the house, struck fire and lit my pipe, waiting till the meeting should break up. I thought too that the man had mentioned so nothing about beaver, and suspected that it might be the subject of their meeting. So when they came out—Well, Hans," says I, 'I hope you have agreed to give me more than four shillings a pound.' 'No,' says he, 'I cannot give so much, I cannot give more than three shillings and six pence.' I then spoke to several other dealers, but they all sung the same song, three and six pence, three and six pence. This made it clear to me, that my suspicion was right; and whatever they pretended meeting to learn good things, the real purpose was to consult how to cheat the Indians in the price of beaver. Consider but a little, Conrad, and you must be of my opinion. If they met so often to learn good things, they certainly would have learned some before this time. But they are still ignorant. You know

“our practice, if a white man, travelling through our country, enters one of our cabins. we all treat him, as I treat you; we dry him if he is wet, we warm him if he is cold, and give him meat and drink, that he may satisfy his thirst and hunger; and we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep upon: we demand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man’s house in Albany, and ask for victuals and drink, they ask, where is your money? and if I have none; they say get out you Indian dog! You see they have not learned those little good things, that we need no meetings to be instructed in, because our mothers taught them to us when we were children; and therefore, it is impossible their meetings should be as they say, for any such purpose, or have any such effect; they are only to contrive the cheating of Indians in the price of their beaver.”

I appeal to every sensible professor of christianity, if there is not more force in the reasoning of this unlettered inhabitant of the wilderness, than in many of the elaborate discourses of the learned divines amongst us, though embellished with all the trappings of modern elocution.

I shall close the Indian character with a short extract, with some small variations, from a letter of the justly celebrated William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania; who, in the early part of the settlement of America, had an opportunity of observing their custom and manner of life, before they had been changed by so frequent an intercourse with Europeans. He describes their persons, manners, language, religion, and government, in the following manner. “They are generally tall, straight, well built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin: of complexion, brown as the gypsies in England. They grease themselves with bear’s fat clarified; and using no defence against the sun and weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eyes are little and black, not unlike a strait-looking Jew. I have seen as comely European-like faces among them, as on your side of the sea. An Italian complexion hath not much more of the white; and the noses of many of them have as much of the Roman. Their language is lofty, yet narrow: but, like the Hebrew, in signification, full; like short hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer. Imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections: I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion: and I must say that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness in accent and emphasis than theirs.

Their children, as soon as they are born, are washed in water, and while young they plunge them into rivers in cold weather, to



harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a clout, they lay them on a straight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board, to make it straight, and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will walk when very young, at nine months commonly: they wear only a clout round their waist, till they are grown up: if boys, they go a fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen; they then hunt; and after having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry: otherwise it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burdens. When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something on their heads for advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen, except when they please.

Their houses are made of poles stuck in the ground, covered with mats and bark, in the fashion of an English barn; their beds are reeds, grass, or skins. If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place, and first cut. If they come to visit the white inhabitants, their salutation is commonly, *Itah!* which is as much as to say, good be to you! and set them down, which is mostly on the ground; sometimes not speaking a word, but observe all that passes. If you give them any thing to eat or drink, it is well, for they will not ask; and, if it be little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased: else they go away sullen, but say nothing. In liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friend. Light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: they are the most merry creatures that live; they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much nor do they want much. If they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are free from our pains. We sweat and toil to live; their pleasure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fishing and fowling; and their table is spread every where: they eat twice a day, morning and evening. In sickness impatient to be cured, and for it give any thing, especially to their children, to whom they are extremely natural.

They are great concealers of their own resentments. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country:—A king's daughter thinking herself slighted by her husband, in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground and ate it; upon which she immediately died: and for which, he, some time after, made an offering to her kindred, for attonement and liberty of marriage: as two others did to the kindred of their wives, that died a natural death. For until the widowers have done so they must not marry again.

They believe in God and immortality, without the help of metaphysics; for they say: "There is a great King that made

"them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of  
 "them, and the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall  
 "live again." Their worship consists of two parts, viz. Sacrifice and Cantico. Their sacrifice is the first fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill, they put on the fire, where he is all burned; and he that performs the ceremony, sings, at the same time, a mournful ditty, but with such marvellous ferment, and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their Cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs. then shouts; and two (being the first that begin) by singing and drumming on a board direct the chorus; their postures in the dance are very antick, and different, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn is gathered in, they begin to feast one another: there have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will; I was at one myself; their entertainment was a great seat by a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beens, which they made up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and baked them in ashes; and after that they proceed to dancing. But they that go must carry a small present in their money (*wampum*), it may be six pence, which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as gold, the white silver."

This account of the natives, notwithstanding it in some respects differs from what has been observed by other writers, yet in general, it serves to establish the most prominent features of their character, already exhibited.

Notwithstanding the many settlements of Europeans in this continent, great part of America remains still unknown. The northern continent contains the British colonies of Hudson's Bay, Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia: the United States, viz. Massachusetts, with the district of Maine, New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi Territory, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Northwestern Territory; Louisiana, including the Island of New Orleans, purchased of the French, to whom it had been ceded by the Spaniards: it contains also the Spanish Territories of East and West Florida, New Mexico, California and Mexico: besides these there are immense regions to the west and north, the boundaries of which have never yet been discovered. Such as have in any degree been known, are inhabited by the Esquimeaux, the Algonquins, the Iroquois, the Cherokees, the Chickasaws, the Chactaws, the Creeks, and many other tribes of Indians. Vast tracts of the inland parts are unknown, being comprehended under the general name of Amazonia. A large district also, said to be the residence of a gigantic race

of men, lies on the east side of the southern continent, between the Straits of Magellan and the province of Paraguay.

This vast country produces many of the metals, minerals, plants, fruits, trees, and wood, to be met with in other parts of the globe, and many of them in greater quantities, and in high perfection.

The gold and silver of America have supplied Europe with such large quantities, that these precious metals have become so common as to be very much diminished in value to what it was before America was discovered: it also produces diamonds, pearls, emeralds, amethysts, &c. which has been more largely treated upon in the first volume of this history.

Although the Indians still live in the quiet possession of many large tracts, America, so far as is known, was chiefly claimed by three European nations, and divided into colonies, viz. the Spaniards, English, and Portuguese. The Spaniards, as they first discovered it, have the largest and richest portion. Next to Spain, the most considerable proprietor was Great Briton, who derived her claim to North America from the first discovery of that continent, by Sebastian Cabot, in the name of Henry the seventh, in the year 1497, about six years after the discovery of South America by Columbus.

This country was in general called Newfoundland until Americus Vesputius, a Florentine, who accompanied Ojeda, a Spanish adventurer, on a voyage of discovery: and having drawn up an entertaining history of his voyage, it was published and read with avidity. In his narrative he had the artifice to insinuate, that he was the first who discovered the New World. Many of his readers gave credit to the insinuation, and from him it assumed the name of America. The original name of Newfoundland is solely appropriated to an island on the north coast. It was a long time before the English made an attempt to settle in this country. Sir Walter Raleigh, an uncommon genius, and a brave commander, first led the way, by planting a colony, and naming it Virginia, in honour of Queen Elizabeth.

The French, from this period, until the conclusion of the war in 1763, laid claim to, and actually possessed, Canada, and Louisiana; and comprehending all that extensive country, reaching from Hudson's Bay, on the north, to Mexico, and the gulf of the same, name on the south. But in that war, they were not only driven from Canada and its dependencies, but obliged to relinquish all that part of Louisiana lying on the east side of the Mississippi. Thus the British colonies were preserved, secured and extended so far, as to render it difficult to ascertain the precise bounds of empire in North America. To the northward they might have extended their claims quite to the pole, nor did any nation shew a disposition to dispute the property of this northern country with them. From that extremity they had a territory extend-



ing southward, to Cape Florida, in the Gulph of Mexico, in the latitude of  $25^{\circ}$  north : and consequently near 4000 miles long, in a direct line ; and to the westward, their boundaries reached to nations unknown even to the Indians of Canada.

Of the revolution that has since taken place, by which a great part of these territories have been separated from the British empire, and which has given a new face to the western world, an impartial narrative shall be attempted. It will, however, be difficult to avoid some errors ; the accounts from which the historian must derive his information, partake too much of prejudice, and the fabrications of party ; and they want that amelioration which time alone can give.

The state of the British colonies, at the conclusion of the war in 1763, was such as attracted the attention of all the politicians in Europe. At that period, their flourishing condition was remarkable and striking. Their trade had prospered and extended, notwithstanding the difficulties and distresses of the war. Their population encreased ; they abounded with spirited and enterprising individuals, of all denominations ; they were elated with the uncommon success that had attended their commercial and military transactions. Hence they were ready for every undertaking, and perceived no limits to their hopes and expectations. They entertained the highest opinion of their value and importance, and of the immense benefit that Britain derived from its connexion with them ; their notions were equally high in their own favour. They deemed themselves entitled to every kindness and indulgence which the mother country could bestow. Although their pretensions did not amount to perfect equality of advantages and privileges, in matters of commerce, yet in those of government, they thought themselves fully competent to the task of conducting their domestic concerns, without any interference from the parent state.

Though willing to admit the supremacy of Great Britain, they viewed it with a suspicious eye, and eagerly solicitous to restrain it within its strict constitutional bounds. Their improvements in necessary and useful arts, did honour to their industry and ingenuity. Though they did not live in the luxuries of Europe, they had all the solid and substantial enjoyments of life, and were not unacquainted with many of its elegancies and refinements. Notwithstanding their peculiar addiction to those occupations, of which wealth is the sole object, they were duly attentive to promote the liberal sciences ; and they have ever since their first foundation, been particularly careful to provide for the education of the rising generation.

Their vast augmentation of internal trade, and external commerce, was not merely owing to their position and facility of communication with other parts ; it arose also from their natural turn

and temper: full of schemes and projects; ever aiming at new discoveries, and continually employed in the search of means to improve their condition. This carried them into every quarter, whence profit could be derived; there was scarcely any port of the American hemisphere, to which they had not extended their navigation. They were continually exploring new sources of trade.

To this extensive and continual application to commerce, they added an equal vigilance in the administration of their affairs at home. The same indefatigable industry was employed in cultivating the soil they possessed, and in the improvement of their domestic circumstances; that it may be truly said, that they made the most of nature's gifts.

In the midst of this solicitude and toil in matters of business, the affairs of government were conducted with a steadiness, prudence and lenity, seldom experienced, and never exceeded, in the best regulated countries in Europe. Such was the situation of the British colonies, in general, throughout North America; and of the New England provinces in particular, at the close of the war in 1763.

In treating of the American revolution, the English writers ascribe that event to the successful intrigues of the French government; they appear willing to search for the origin in any other source than that of their own misconduct. It has therefore been repeatedly asserted, "that the French having long viewed with envy and apprehension, the flourishing state of the colonies which Britain had founded in America, began immediately after the peace of Paris to carry into execution their design of separating the colonies from the mother country. Secret emissaries, it is said, were employed in spreading dissatisfaction among the colonists; and the effects produced by these machinating spirits, are described to have been a rapid diminution of that warm attachment which the inhabitants of North America had hitherto demonstrated for the mother country." That such emissaries were ever employed, is a fact unsupported by any document which the purity of historical truth can admit; and although the effects here described, have certainly appeared, it must be remembered, that their appearance followed, but did not precede, the attempts of Britain, upon the rights and liberties of America.

That the French should succeed in the arts of intrigue, so far as to alienate the affections of the colonists from the mother country, and at the close of a war, in which their interests and feelings had been interwoven with more than usual strength and energy, was not in any sense probable. But if we trace these effects to another cause, to a love of liberty, and a quick sense of injury, their appearance will be natural and just; consistent with the American character, and corresponding with the conduct which was displayed in all the various changes that attend their opposition.

In March, 1764, a bill was passed in the British parliament, by which heavy duties were laid on goods imported by the colonists from such West India islands as did not belong to Great Britain; and that these duties were to be paid into the exchequer, in specie; and in the same session another bill was framed, to restrain the currency of paper money in the colonies. Not only the principal of taxation, but the mode of collection was considered as an unconstitutional and oppressive innovation, as the penalties incurred by an infraction of the acts of parliament, were to be recovered in courts of admiralty, before a single judge (whose salary was to be the fruit of the forfeitures he should describe.)

These acts threw the whole continent into a ferment. Vehe- ment remonstrances were made to the ministry, and every argu- ment made use of that reason or ingenuity could suggest, but without any good effect; their reasoning, however, convinced a great number of people in Britain; and thus, the American cause came to be considered as the cause of liberty.

The Americans, finding that all their remonstrances were fruit- less, at last united in an agreement not to import any more of the British manufactures, but to encourage to the utmost of their power, every useful manufacture among themselves. Thus the British manufacturers became a party against the ministry, and expressed their resentment in strong terms; but the ministry were not to be easily daunted; and therefore proceeded to the last step of their intended plan, which was to lay on stamp duties throughout the continent. Previous to this, several regulations were made in favour of the commerce of the colonies; but they had imbibed such unfavourable impressions of the British minis- try, that they paid very little regard to any thing pretended to be done in their favour; or, if these acts had made any favourable impressions, the stamp act at once obliterated every sentiment of that nature.

The reason given for this act, so exceedingly obnoxious, was, that a sum might be raised sufficient for the defence of the colo- nies against a foreign enemy; but this pretence was so far from giving satisfaction to the Americans, that it excited their indig- nation to the utmost. They not only asserted that they were abundantly able to defend themselves, but denied the right of the British parliament to tax them at all.

To enter into the arguments of the contending parties upon this occasion, would be superfluous. It was manifest that the matter was not to be decided but by the force of arms; and the British ministry, confident of the authority and power of that country, were disposed to carry on matters with a high hand, to terrify the colonists into submission, or compel them by force.

The Stamp act, after a violent opposition in parliament, was



passed, and its reception in America was such as might have been expected. The news and the act itself, first arrived at Boston, where the bells were muffled, and rung a funeral peal. The act was first hawked about the streets, with a death's head affixed to it, and styled "*The folly of England, and the ruin of America.*" It was afterwards publicly burnt by the enraged populace; the stamps were seized and destroyed, unless brought on board of men of war, or kept in fortified places. Those who were to receive the stamp duties were compelled to resign their offices; and such of the Americans as favoured the government on this occasion, had their houses plundered and burned.

Though these outrages were committed by the multitude, they were connived at by those of superior rank, who afterwards openly avowed, that Britain had no right to tax the colonies without their own consent. The ministry now found it absolutely necessary, either to yield to the Americans, by repealing the obnoxious laws, or to enforce them by arms.

The ferment had become general through the colonies. Virginia first, and afterwards all the rest of the provinces declared against the right of Britain to tax America; and, that every attempt to vest others with this power, besides the king, or the governor of the province, and his general assembly, was illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust. Non-importation agreements were every where entered into; and it was resolved, to prevent the sale of any more British goods after the present year. American manufactures, though dearer, as also inferior in quality to the British, were universally preferred. An association was also entered into against eating of lamb, in order to promote the growth of wool; and the ladies agreed to renounce the use of every kind of ornament imported from Great Britain.

Such a general and alarming confederacy determined the ministry to repeal some of the most obnoxious acts; and to this they were the more inclined by a petition from the first American Congress, held at New York in 1765.

The stamp act was therefore repealed, to the universal joy of the Americans, as well as to the general satisfaction of the English, whose manufactures had begun to suffer, in consequence of American associations against them. The disputes on the subject, however, were by no means silenced; every one continued to argue the case as violent as ever. Dr. Benjamin Franklin was on this occasion examined before the house of Commons; and his opinion was in substance as follows: "That the tax in question was impracticable and ruinous. The very attempt had so far alienated the affection of the colonies, that they behaved in a less friendly manner towards the natives of England than before, considering the whole nation as conspiring against their liberty, and

the parliament as more willing to oppress than to assist and support them. America, in fact, did not stand in any need of British manufactures, having already begun to construct such as might be deemed absolutely necessary, and that with such success, as left no doubt of their arriving in a short time at perfection. 'The elegancies of dress had already been renounced for American manufactures, though much inferior, and the bulk of the people consisting of farmers, were such as could in no way be affected by the want of British commodities, as having every necessary within themselves, materials of all kinds were to be had in plenty: the wool was fine, flax grew in great abundance, and iron was every where to be met with.' The Doctor also insisted, that "the Americans had been greatly misrepresented; that they had been traduced as void of gratitude and affection to the parent state; than which nothing could be more contrary to truth. In the war in 1755, they had at their own expense raised an army of 25,000 men; and that they assisted the British expeditions against South America, with several thousand men: and had made many brave exertions against the French in North America.

It was said that the war of 1755 had been undertaken in defence of the colonies: but the truth was, that it originated from a contest about the limits between Canada and Nova-Scotia, and in defence of the English rights to trade on the Ohio. The Americans, however, would still continue to act with their usual fidelity; and were any war to break out in which they had no concern, they would be as ready as ever to assist the parent state to the utmost of their power, and would not fail to manifest their ready acquiescence in contributing to the emergencies of government, when called to do so in a regular and constitutional manner."

The ministry were conscious that in repealing this obnoxious act, they yielded to the Americans; and therefore, to support, as they thought, the dignity of Great Britain, it was judged proper to publish a declaratory bill, setting forth the authority of the mother country, over her colonies, and her power to bind them by laws and statutes in all cases whatsoever. This much diminished the joy with which the repeal of the stamp act was received in America. It was considered a proper reason to enforce any claims equally prejudicial with the stamp act, which might hereafter be set up; a spirit of jealousy pervaded the whole continent, and a strong party was formed, determined to guard against the supposed encroachments of British power.

It was not long before an occasion offered, in which the Americans manifested a spirit of absolute independency; and, that instead of being bound by the British legislature in all cases whatsoever, they would not be controlled by it in the most trivial affairs. The Rockingham ministry had passed an act, providing the troops stationed in different parts of the colonies with such ac-

commodations as were necessary for them. The assembly of New York, however, took upon them to alter the mode of execution prescribed by the act of parliament, and to substitute one of their own.

This gave very great offence to the new ministry, and rendered them, though composed of those who had been active against the stamp bill, less favourable to the colonies in all probability, than they would otherwise have been. An unlucky circumstance at the same time occurred, which threw every thing once more into confusion. One of the new ministry, Charles Townshend, having declared that he could find a way of taxing America, without giving offence; was called upon to propose his plan. This was by imposing a duty upon tea, paper, painters' colours, and glass imported into America. The conduct of the New York assembly, respecting the troops, and that of Boston, which had proceeded in a similar manner, caused this bill to meet with less opposition than otherwise it might have done. As a punishment to the refractory assemblies, the legislative power was taken from New York, until it should fully comply with the terms of the act. That of Boston at last submitted with reluctance. The bill for the new taxes quickly passed, and was sent to America in 1768. A ferment much greater than that occasioned by the stamp-act, now took place throughout the continent. The populace renewed their outrages, and those of superior stations, entered into regular combinations against it.

Circular letters were sent from Massachusetts colony, to all the others, setting forth the injustice and impropriety of the behaviour of the British legislature. Meetings were held in all the principal towns. It was proposed to lessen the consumption of all foreign manufactures, by giving proper encouragement to their own. Continual disputes ensued betwixt the governors and general assemblies, which were aggravated by a letter from lord Shelburne, to governor Barnard of Massachusetts Bay, containing complaints of the people he governed. The assembly exasperated, to the highest degree, charged their governor with having misrepresented them at the court of Britain; required him to produce copies of the letters he had sent; and on his refusal, wrote letters to the English ministry, accusing him of misrepresentation and partiality, complaining at the same time most grievously of the proceedings of parliament, as utterly subversive of the liberties of America, and the rights of British subjects. The governor, at a loss how to defend himself, prorogued the assembly, and in his speech the occasion, gave a loose to his resentment, accusing the members of ambitious designs, incompatible with those of dutiful and loyal subjects. To counteract the circular letter of the province, Massachusetts Bay, lord Hillsborough, secretary for the American department, sent another to the governors of the directed by



colonies, reprobating that sent by the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay, as full of misrepresentation, and tending to excite a rebellion against the parent state.

Matters were now drawing to a crisis. The governor had been ordered to proceed with vigour, and by no means show any disposition to yield to the people as formerly. In particular they were required to rescind that resolution by which they had written the circular letter above mentioned; and in case of a refusal, it was told them that they would be dissolved. As this letter had been framed by the resolutions of a former house, they desired after a week's consultation, that a recess might be granted to consult with their constituents; but this being refused, they came to a determination, 92 against 17, to adhere to the resolution which produced the circular letter.

At the same time a letter was sent to lord Hillsborough, and a message to the governor, in justification of their proceedings. In both they expressed themselves with such freedom, as was by no means calculated to accord with the views of those in power. They insisted they had a right to communicate their sentiments to their fellow subjects upon matters of importance; complained of the requisition to rescind the circular letter, as unconstitutional and unjust: and particularly insisted, that they were represented as harbouring seditious designs, when they were doing nothing but what was lawful and right. At the same time they condemned the late acts of parliament as highly oppressive, and subversive of liberty. The whole was concluded by a list of accusations against their governor, representing him as unfit to continue in his station, and petitioning the king for his removal from it.

These proceedings were followed by a violent tumult at Boston. A vessel belonging to a capital trader, had been seized in consequence of his having neglected some of the new regulations, and being taken under the protection of a man of war, at that time lying in the harbour; the populace attacked the houses of the excise officers, broke their windows, destroyed the collector's boats, and obliged the custom house officers to take refuge in Castle William, on an island situated at the entrance of the harbour. The governor now took the last step in his power to put a stop to the violent proceedings of the assembly, by dissolving it entirely; but this was of little moment. Their behaviour had been highly approved of by the other colonies, who had written letters to them, expressive of their approbation.

After the dissolution of the assembly, frequent meetings were held by the people in Boston, which ended in a remonstrance to the governor, to the same purpose as some of the former; but concluding with a request, that he would take upon him to order the king's ships out of the harbour. While the disposition of the troops was thus going on from bad to worse, news arrived.

that the agent of the colony had not been allowed to deliver their petition to the king: it having been objected, that the assembly without the governor, was not sufficient authority. This did not allay the ferment; it was further augmented, by the news that a number of troops had been ordered to repair to Boston, to keep the inhabitants in awe. A dreadful alarm now ensued; the people called on the governor to convene a general assembly, in order to remove the fears of the military; who, they said, were to be assembled to overthrow their liberties, and force obedience to the laws to which they were entirely averse. The governor replied, it was no longer in his power to call an assembly, having, in his last instructions from England, been required to wait the king's orders; the matter being then under consideration there.

Thus refused, the people took upon themselves to call an assembly, which they termed a convention. The proceedings and resolutions of this body, partook of the temper and disposition of the late assembly; but they went a step further: and having voted, "That there is apprehension in the minds of many, of an approaching rupture with France," requested the inhabitants to put themselves in a posture of defence, against any sudden attack of an enemy; and circular letters were directed to all the towns in the province, acquainting them with the resolutions that had been taken in the capital, and exhorting them to proceed in the same manner. The town of Hatfield alone refused its concurrence. The convention thought proper, however, to assure the governor of their pacific intentions, and renewed their request, that a general assembly might be called; but being refused an audience, and threatened to be treated as rebels, they at last thought proper to dissolve themselves, and sent over to Britain a circumstantial account of their proceedings, with the reason for having assembled in the manner already mentioned.

On the very day the convention broke up, the troops arrived, and houses in the town were fitted up for their reception. Their arrival had a considerable influence on the people, and for some time put a stop to the disturbances; but the seeds of discord had taken such deep root, that it was impossible to quench the flame. The outrageous behaviour of the people of Boston had given great offence in England: and, notwithstanding all the efforts of opposition, an address from both houses of parliament was presented to the king; in which the behaviour of the colony of Massachusetts Bay was set forth in the most ample manner, and vigorous measures recommended for reducing them to obedience. The Americans, however, continued steadfast in the ideas they had adopted.

Though the troops had for some time quieted the disturbances, yet the calm continued no longer than they were formidable on account of their number, but as soon as they were separated by

the departure of a large detachment, the remainder were treated with contempt, and it was even resolved to expel them altogether. The country people took up arms for this purpose, and were to have assisted their friends in Boston; but before the plot could be put in execution, an event happened which put an end to every idea of reconciliation betwixt the contending parties.

On the 5th of March 1770, a scuffle happened between the soldiers and a party of the town's people; the inhabitants poured in to the assistance of their fellow-citizens; a violent tumult ensued, during which the military fired upon the populace, killed and wounded several of them.

The whole province now rose in arms, and the soldiers were obliged to retire to Castle William to prevent their being cut to pieces. Let it be remembered, however, that on the trial, notwithstanding popular prejudice and apprehension, the captain and six of the men were acquitted: two men only being found guilty of man-slaughter.

In other respects, the determination of the Americans gained strength; until at last, the government determining to act with vigour and, at the same time, with as much condescension as was consistent with its dignity, without abandoning their principles, repealed all the duties laid; that on tea alone excepted: and this, it was thought, could not be productive of any discontent in America, as being an affair of very little moment; the produce of which was not expected to exceed sixteen thousand pounds sterling.

The opposition, however, were strenuous in their endeavours to get this tax repealed; insisting that the Americans would consider it as an inlet to others; and, that the repeal of all the rest, without this, would answer no good purpose: the event shewed that their opinion was well founded. The Americans opposed the tea tax with the same violence, as they had done all the rest; and at last, when they were informed, that salaries had been settled on the judge of the superior court of Boston, the governor was addressed on the subject; the measure was condemned in the strongest terms: and a committee selected out of the several districts of the colony to inquire into it.

The new assembly proceeded in the most formal manner to disavow the supremacy of the British legislature; and accused the parliament of Great Britain of having violated the natural rights of the Americans, in a number of instances. Copies of the transactions of this assembly, were transmitted to every town in Massachusetts, exhorting the inhabitants to rouse themselves, and exert every nerve in opposition to the iron hand of oppression, which was daily tearing the choicest fruits from the fair tree of liberty.

These disturbances were also greatly heightened by an acc<sup>t</sup>



dental discovery, that governor Hutchinson had written several confidential letters to persons in power in England, complaining of the behaviour of the people of the province, recommending vigorous measures against them; and among other things, asserting that, "there must be an abridgement of what is called British liberty." Letters of this kind had fallen into the hands of the agent for the colony at London. They were immediately transmitted to Boston, where the assembly was sitting, by whom they were laid before the governor, who was thus reduced to a very mortifying situation.

Losing every idea of respect or friendship for him, as their governor, they instantly despatched a petition to the king, requesting him to remove the governor and deputy-governor from their places: but to this they not only received an unfavourable answer, but the petition itself was declared groundless and scandalous.

Matters were now nearly ripe for the utmost extremities on the part of the Americans, and they were precipitated in the following manner. Though the colonies had entered into a non-important agreement against tea, as well as other commodities from Britain, it had nevertheless, found its way into America, though in smaller quantities than before. This was sensibly felt by the East India company, who had now agreed to pay a large sum annually to government; in recompense for which compliance, and to make up their losses in other respects, they were empowered to export their tea free from any duty payable in England: and, in consequence of this permission, several ships freighted with this commodity, were sent to North America, and proper agents appointed for taking charge, and disposing of it.

The Americans now perceiving that the tax was thus likely to be enforced, whether they would or not, determined to take every possible method to prevent the tea from being landed; well knowing that it would be impossible to hinder the sale, should the commodity once be brought on shore. For this purpose the people assembled in great numbers, forcing those to whom the tea was consigned, to resign their offices; and to promise solemnly never to resume them; and committees were appointed to examine the accounts of merchants, and make public tests, declaring such as would not take them, enemies to their country. Nor was this behaviour confined to the colony of Massachusetts Bay; the rest of the provinces entered into the contest, with the same warmth: and manifested the same resolution to oppose this invasion of their rights.

In the midst of this confusion, three ships laden with tea, arrived at Boston; but so much were the captains alarmed at the disposition of the people, that they offered, providing they could get the proper discharges from the tea consignees, custom-house and governor, to return to Britain without landing their cargoes. The

parties concerned, however, though they durst not order the tea to be landed, refused to grant the discharges required. The ships, therefore, would have been obliged to remain in the harbour: but the people apprehensive that if they remained there, the tea would be landed in small quantities, and disposed of in spite of every endeavour to prevent it: resolved to destroy it at once.

This resolution was executed with equal speed and secrecy. The very evening after the above mentioned discharges had been refused, a number of people, dressed like Mohock Indians, boarded the ships, and threw into the sea their whole cargoes, consisting of three hundred and forty chests of tea; after which, they retired without making any further disturbance or doing any other damage. No tea was destroyed in other ports, but the same spirit was manifested.

At Philadelphia the pilots were enjoined not to conduct the vessels up the river; and at New York, though the governor caused some tea to be landed under the protection of a man of war, he was obliged to deliver it up to the people, to prevent its being sold.

The destruction of the tea at Boston, which happened in 1773, was the immediate prelude to the disasters attending civil discord. Government finding themselves every where insulted and despised, resolved to enforce their authority by all possible means; and as Boston had been the principal scene of the riots and outrages, it was determined to punish that city in an exemplary manner. Parliament was acquainted, by a message from his majesty, with the undutiful behaviour of the inhabitants of Boston, as well as of all the colonies, recommending at the same time the most vigorous and spirited exertions to reduce them to obedience. The parliament in its address promised a ready compliance; and the Americans now seemed to have lost many of their partizans.

It was proposed to lay a fine on the town of Boston, equal to the price of the tea which had been destroyed, and to shut up its port by armed vessels, until the refractory spirit of its inhabitants was subdued; which it was thought must quickly yield, as a total stop would thus be put to their trade. The bill was strongly opposed on the same ground that the other had been; and it was predicted, that instead of having any tendency to reconcile or subdue the Americans, it would infallibly exasperate them beyond any possibility of reconciliation.

The petitions against it were presented by the colony's agent, who pointed out the same consequence in the strongest terms, and in the most positive manner declared the Americans never would submit to it; but such was the infatuation attending every rank and degree of men, that it never was imagined the Americans would dare to resist the parent state openly; but would in the end submit implicitly to her commands. In this confidence a

third bill was proposed, for the impartial administration of justice, by such persons as might be employed in the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay. By this act it was provided, "That should any person acting in that capacity be indicted for murder, and not be able to obtain a fair trial in the province, they might be sent by the governor to England, or to some other colony, if necessary, to be tried for the supposed crime."

These three bills having passed so easily, the ministry proposed a fourth, relative to the government of Canada; which it was said had not yet been settled upon any proper plan. By this bill the extent of that province was greatly enlarged; its affairs were put under the direction of a council, in which Roman Catholics were to be admitted; the Roman Catholic clergy were secured in their possessions, and the usual perquisites from those of their own profession. The council above mentioned, were to be appointed by the crown; to be removed at its pleasure, and to be invested with every legislative power, except that of taxation.

No sooner were these laws made known in America, than they cemented the union of the colonies, beyond the possibility of dissolving it. The Assembly of Massachusetts Bay had passed a vote against the judges accepting salaries from the crown, and put the question, Whether they would accept them as usual, from the general assembly? Four answered in the affirmative, but Peter Oliver, the chief justice, refused. A petition against him, and an accusation, were brought before the governor; but the latter refused interfering in the matter: but as they still insisted for justice against chief justice Oliver, the governor, thought proper to dissolve the assembly.

In this situation of affairs, a new alarm was occasioned by the Port bill. This had been totally unexpected and was received with the most extravagant expressions of displeasure among the people; and while these continued, the new governor, general Gage, arrived from England.

He had been chosen to this office on account of his being well acquainted in America, and generally agreeable to the people; but human wisdom could not now point out a method, by which the flame could be allayed. The first act of his office, as governor, was to remove the assembly to Salem, a town seventeen miles distant from Boston, in consequence of the late act. When this was intimated to the assembly, they replied by requesting him to appoint a day of public humiliation, for deprecating the wrath of heaven, but met with a refusal. When the assembly met at Salem they passed a resolution, declaring the necessity of a general Congress, composed of delegates from all the provinces; in order that they might take the affairs of the colonies at large, under their consideration; and five gentlemen, who had been remarka-



ble for their opposition, were chosen to represent that of Massachusetts Bay. They then proceeded, with all expedition, to draw up a declaration, containing a detail of the grievances, which they laboured under ; and the necessity of exerting themselves against lawless power ; they set forth the disregard that had been paid to their petitions, and the attempts of Great Britain to destroy their ancient constitution ; and concluding with exhorting the inhabitants of the colony to obstruct, by every method in their power, such evil designs, recommending at the same time, a total renunciation of every thing imported from Great Britain, until a redress of grievances could be procured.

Intelligence of this declaration was carried to the governor on the very day that it was completed, on which he dissolved the assembly. This was followed by an address from the inhabitants of Salem, in favour of those of Boston, and concluding with these remarkable words, " By shutting up the port of Boston some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit ; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce to that convenient mart ; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours."

It had been fondly hoped by the ministerial party in England, that the advantages which other towns might derive from the annihilation of the trade of Boston, would make them readily acquiesce in the measure of shutting up that port, and rather rejoice in it than otherwise ; but the words of the address above-mentioned, seemed to preclude all hope of this kind ; and subsequent transactions soon manifested it to be altogether vain.

No sooner did intelligence arrive of the bills passed in the session of 1774, than the cause of Boston became the cause of all the colonies. The port-bill had already occasioned violent commotions throughout them all. It had been reprobated in provincial meetings, and resistance to the last, had been recommended against such oppression. In Virginia, the 1st of June, 1774 the day on which the port of Boston was to be shut up, was held as a day of humiliation, and a public intercession, in favour of America was recommended. The style of the prayer enjoined at this time, was, that " God would give the people one heart, and one mind, firmly to oppose every invasion of the American rights."

The Virginians, however, did not content themselves with acts of religion only : they recommended, in the strongest manner, a general congress of all the colonies ; as fully persuaded that an attempt to tax any colony in an arbitrary manner, was in reality, an attack upon them all. The provinces of New York and Pennsylvania, were, however, less sanguine than the rest, being so

closely connected in the way of trade with Great Britain, that the giving it up entirely, appeared a matter of the most serious magnitude and not to be thought of but after every other method had failed.

The intelligence of the remaining bills, respecting Boston, spread a fresh alarm through the continent, and fixed those who had appeared the most wavering. The proposal of giving up all commercial intercourse with Great Britain was again proposed; contributions for the relief of the inhabitants of Boston were raised in every quarter; and they received addresses from the other provinces commending them for the heroic courage with which they sustained their calamity.

The Bostonians, thus supported, did every thing in their power to promote the general cause. An agreement was framed, which, in imitation, of former times, was called a solemn league and covenant. By this, the subscribers most religiously bound themselves to break off all communication with Great Britain after the expiration of the month of August ensuing, until the obnoxious acts were repealed; at the same time they engaged neither to purchase nor use any goods imported after that time, and to renounce all connexion with those who did, or refused to subscribe to this covenant; threatening to publish the names of the refractory; which at this time was a punishment too serious to be despised.

Agreements of a similar nature, were immediately entered into throughout all America. And although general Gage attempted to counteract the covenant by a proclamation, wherein it was declared an illegal and traitorous combination, threatening with the pains of the law, such as subscribed or countenanced it. But it was now too late for proclamations to have any effect. The Americans retorted the charge of illegality on his own proclamation, and insisted that the law allowed subjects to meet, in order to consider of their grievances, and associate for relief from oppression.

Preparations were now made for holding a general Congress. Philadelphia, as being the most central, and considerable town, was chosen as the place of its meeting. The delegates of whom it was composed, were elected by the representatives of each province, and were in number from two to seven from each colony, though no province had more than one vote.

The first Congress which met at Philadelphia, in the beginning of September 1774, consisted of fifty-one delegates. The novelty and importance of the meeting, excited universal attention; and their transactions were such as rendered them respectable. The first act of Congress, was an approbation of the conduct of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, and an exhortation to continue in the same spirit which they had begun. Supplies for the suffering inhabitants were strongly recommended, as they were reduced to great distress by the operation of the Port-bill;

and it was declared, that in case an attempt should be made to enforce the obnoxious acts by arms, all America should join to assist the town of Boston; and should the inhabitants be obliged, during the course of hostilities, to remove further up into the country, the losses they might sustain should be repaired at the public expense.

They next addressed general Gage by letter; in which, having stated the grievances of the people of Massachusetts colony, they informed him of the fixed and unalterable determination of all the other provinces, to support their brethren, and to oppose the cruel and oppressive British acts of Parliament; that they were appointed to watch over the liberties of America; and entreated him to desist from military operations, lest such hostilities might be brought on, as would frustrate all hopes of reconciliation with the parent state.

The next step was to publish a declaration of their rights. These they summed up in the rights belonging to Englishmen; and particularly insisted, that as their distance rendered it impossible for them to be represented in the British parliament, their provincial assemblies, with the governor appointed by the king, constituted the only legislative power within each province. They would however, consent to such acts of Parliament, as were evidently calculated merely for the regulation of commerce, and securing for the parent state the benefits of the American trade; but would never allow that they could impose any tax on the colonies, for the purpose of raising a revenue, without their consent. They proceeded to reprobate the intention of each of the new acts of parliament; and insisted on all the rights they had enumerated as being unalienable; and what none could deprive them of. The Canada act they particularly pointed out as being extremely inimical to the colonies, by whose assistance it had been conquered; and they termed it, "An act for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in Canada, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and establishing a tyranny there."

They further declared in favour of a non-importation and non-consumption of British goods, until the acts were repealed, by which duties were laid upon tea, coffee, wine, sugar, and molasses imported into America, as well as the Boston Port-act, and the three others passed in the preceeding session of Parliament.

The new regulations against the importation and consumption of British commodities, were then drawn up with great solemnity; and they concluded with returning the warmest thanks, to those members of Parliament who had, with so much zeal, but without success, opposed the obnoxious acts of Parliament.

Their next proceedings were, to draw up a petition to the king, an address to the British nation, and another to the colonies, all of which being in the usual strain of American language, adopted



for some time past, that a repetition is altogether unnecessary. It is sufficient to say, they were executed in a masterly manner, both with respect to the style, and composition, and ought to have impressed the people of England with more favourable sentiments of the Americans, than they were at that time willing to entertain.

All this time the disposition of the people had corresponded with the warmest wishes of congress. The first of June had been kept as a fast, not only throughout Virginia, where it was first proposed, but through the whole continent. Contributions for the relief of the inhabitants of Boston were recommended, and raised throughout the country. Even those who were most likely to derive the greatest advantages from the Port-bill, with a generosity unequalled, refused to enrich themselves at the expense of their suffering neighbours. The inhabitants of Marblehead, who were among the number, though situated in the neighbourhood of Boston, and most likely to receive benefit from the stoppage of their trade, did not attempt to avail themselves of it: but so far from it, that they generously offered the use of their harbour, wharves, and stores, rent free.

In the meantime the British forces at Boston were continually augmenting in number, which greatly increased the general jealousy and disaffection; the country people were ready to rise at a moment's warning; and the experiment was tried, by giving a false alarm, that the communication was to be cut off between the town and country; in order to reduce the former by famine to a compliance with the acts of parliament. On this intelligence, the country people assembled in great numbers, and could not be satisfied, till they had sent messengers into the city, to inquire into the truth of the report. These messengers were enjoined to inform the people in Boston, that if they should be so pusillanimous as to make a surrender of their liberties, the province would not think itself bound by such examples; and that Britain, by breaking their original charter, had annulled the contract subsisting between them, and left them to act as they thought proper.

The people in every other respect manifested their inflexible determination to adhere to the plan they had so long followed. The new counsellors and judges were obliged to resign their offices, in order to preserve their lives and properties from the fury of the multitude. In some places they shut up the avenues to the court houses; and when required to make way for the judges, replied, that they knew of none but such as were appointed by the ancient usage and custom of the province.

They manifested in every place the most ardent desire of learning the art of war; and every one who could bear arms, was most assiduous in procuring them, and learning the military exercise. Matters at last proceeded to such a height, that general Gage thought proper to fortify the neck of land which joins the

Columbus, conscious of his own integrity, appeared at court with that determined confidence, which those who have performed great actions, will always assume. Ferdinand and Isabella ashamed of lending too favourable an ear to frivolous and ill-founded accusations, received him with such distinguished marks of respect, as overwhelmed his enemies with shame. Their calumny and censures were not heard at that juncture.

The gold, the pearls, the cotton, and other rich commodities which Columbus produced, seemed fully to refute the stories the malecontents had propagated with respect to the poverty of the country. By reducing the Indians to obedience and imposing a regular tax upon them, he had secured to Spain a large accession of new subjects, and a revenue that promised much. By the mines which he had found out and examined, a source of wealth was still more copiously opened.

Columbus represented these only as preludes to future and much larger acquisitions, and as an earnest of more important discoveries. The attentive consideration of all these circumstances made such an impression upon Ferdinand and Isabella, that they resolved to supply the colony with every thing necessary to render it a permanent establishment, and to furnish Columbus with such a fleet, that he might proceed to make such discoveries as he meditated.

A plan was now formed of a regular colony, that might serve as a model for all future establishments. Every particular was considered with attention, and arranged with scrupulous accuracy. The exact number of adventurers who should be permitted to embark was fixed: these were to be of different ranks and professions; and the proportion of each was established, according to their usefulness and benefit to the colony. A proper number of women were chosen to accompany these new settlers.

As a want of provision had occasioned great distress in the colony, a number of husbandmen were to be carried over. As they had formed and entertained the most sanguine hopes with respect to the riches contained in the mines, a number of artists were engaged who were skilful in refining the precious metals; who were to receive pay from the government for a number of years.

Thus far the regulations were well adapted to the end in view; but as it was foreseen that few would engage to embark to settle in a country that had proved so fatal to many of their countrymen, Columbus proposed to employ such convicts and malefactors who were convicted of crimes, which, though capital, were of a less atrocious nature; and instead of sending them to the galleys, they should be condemned to labour in the mines which were to be opened. This advice was inconsiderately adopted; the prisons were drained to collect members for the intended colony; and the judges were instructed to recruit it by their future

sentences. But they were not aware that such corrupt members would poison the body politic, and be productive of violent and unhappy effects.

This the Spaniards fatally experienced, and other European powers imitated their practice, from which pernicious consequences have followed, and can be imputed to no other cause.

Columbus easily obtained the royal approbation to every measure and regulation he proposed: but his endeavours to carry them into execution, were long retarded, and must have tired out any man of less patience than himself. Those delays were occasioned, partly by that tedious procrastination, so natural to the Spaniards; partly by the exhausted state of the treasury, which at that time was drained by the celebration of the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella's only son, with Margaret of Austria; and that of Joanna, their daughter, with Philip of Austria: but the chief source of all these delays, must principally be imputed to the malice of his enemies.

These, astonished at the reception Columbus had met with, and overawed by his presence, gave way for some time, to a tide of favour too strong for them to oppose. Their enmity however, was too strong to remain long inactive; but by the assistance of Fonseca, minister for Indian affairs, who was now promoted to be bishop of Badajos, they threw in so many obstacles, that the preparations were retarded one whole year, before he could procure two ships, to send over a part of the supplies intended for the colony; and near two years were spent before the small squadron was ready, of which he was to take the command. This squadron consisted of six ships of no great burden, and indifferently provided for a long voyage.

He now meditated a different course from what he had before undertaken: still possessed with those erroneous ideas, which at first induced him to consider the country he had discovered, as a part of the continent of India: he expected to find those fertile regions to the south-west of the countries he had discovered. He therefore proposed, as the most certain for finding out these, to stand directly for the Cape de Verd islands, until he came under the equinoctial line, and then to stretch to the west before a favourable wind which blows invariably between the tropics.

Full of this idea he set sail for his third voyage, on the thirtieth of May, 1498, and touched at the Canaries and Cape de Verd Islands; from Ferro he despatched three of his ships with a supply of provisions for the colony of Hispaniola, with the other three he pursued his course to the south.

No remarkable occurrence happened until they arrived within five degrees of the line, when they were becalmed, and the heat was so excessive that the Spaniards were apprehensive the ships would take fire; their fears were relieved by a shower of rain,



New-Hampshire followed the example of Rhode-Island, and seized a small fort for the sake of the powder and military stores it contained. In Pennsylvania, however, a convention was held which expressed an earnest desire of reconciliation with the mother country; though at the same time in the strongest manner declaring, that they were resolved to take up arms in defence of their just rights, and defend, to the last, their opposition to the late acts of parliament; and the people were exhorted to apply themselves with the greatest diligence to the prosecution of such manufactures, as were necessary for their defence and subsistence; such as salt, saltpetre, gunpowder, steel, &c. This was the universal voice of the colonies, New-York only excepted. The assembly of that province, as yet ignorant of the fate of their last remonstrance, refused to concur with the other colonies in their determination, to throw off the British yoke: their attachment was nevertheless very faint, and by the event, it appeared, that a perseverance of the measures which the ministry had adopted, was sufficient to unite them to the rest.

In the beginning of February, the provincial congress met at Cambridge, and as no friends to Britain could now find admittance into that assembly, the only consideration was how to make proper preparations for war. Expertness in military discipline was earnestly recommended, and several military institutions established: among which that of the minute-men was most remarkable. These were chosen from the most active and expert among the militia; and their business was to keep themselves in constant readiness, at the call of their officers; from which perpetual diligence they derived their appellation.

It was now thought that a very slight occasion would bring on hostilities, for both parties were so much exasperated by a long course of reproaches, and literary warfare, that they were filled with the utmost inveteracy against each other.

On the twenty-sixth of February, 1775, general Gage, having been informed that a number of field pieces had been brought up to Salem, despatched a party to seize them. Their road was obstructed by a river, over which was a draw-bridge. This the people had pulled up, and refused to let down: upon which the soldiers seized a boat to ferry them over, but the people cut out her bottom. Hostilities would immediately have commenced had it not been for the interposition of a clergyman, who represented to the military, on the one hand, the folly of opposing such numbers; and to the people, on the other, that as the day was far spent the military could not execute their design, so that they might, without any fear, leave them in the quiet possession of the draw-bridge. This was complied with; and the soldiers, after having remained some time at the bridge, returned without executing their orders.

The next attempt was attended with more serious consequences. General Gage understanding that a large quantity of ammunition and military stores had been collected at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, and where the provincial congress was sitting, sent a detachment, under the command of colonel Smith and major Pitcairn, to destroy the stores; and, as was reported, to seize Hancock and Adams, two leading men of the congress.

They set out before day break, on the nineteenth of April, marching with the utmost silence, and securing every one they met with upon the road, that they might not be discovered; but, notwithstanding all their care, the continual ringing of the bells and firing of guns, as they went along, soon gave them notice, that the country was alarmed: about five in the morning they had reached Lexington, fifteen miles from Boston, where the militia of the place were exercising. A British officer called out to them to disperse; but as they still continued in a body, he advanced and discharged his pistol, and ordered his men to fire; who instantly obeyed, and killed and wounded several of the militia; the detachment then proceeded to Concord, where, having destroyed the stores, they were encountered by the Americans; and a scuffle ensued, in which several fell on both sides.

The purpose of their expedition being accomplished, it was necessary for the king's troops to retreat, which they did through a continual fire kept upon them from Concord to Lexington. Here their ammunition was totally expended; and they would have been unavoidably cut off, had not a considerable reinforcement, commanded by lord Percy, met them. The Americans, however, continued the attack with great fury, and galled the British from behind stone fences, as they retreated: and had it not been for two field pieces, which lord Percy brought with him, the whole detachment would still have been in the utmost danger.

The impetuosity of the Americans being thus checked, the British made good their retreat to Boston, with the loss of two hundred and fifty killed and wounded; that of the Americans about sixty.

The spirits of the Americans were raised by this engagement, and the power of Britain became less formidable in their view; they now meditated nothing less than the total expulsion of the troops from Boston. An army of twenty thousand men was assembled; a line of encampment was formed from Roxbury to Mystic, through a space of about thirty miles; and here they were soon after joined by a large body of Connecticut troops, under the command of general Putnam, an old officer of great bravery and experience. By this formidable force was the town of Boston shut up. General Gage, however, had so strongly fortified it, that the enemy, powerful as they were, feared to make the attack.

But towards the end of May, a considerable reinforcement having arrived, with the generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, he

was soon enabled to attempt something of consequence: and this the boast of the provincials seemed to render necessary. Some skirmishing, in the meantime, happened in the islands lying off Boston harbour, in which the Americans had the advantage, and burnt an armed schooner. Nothing decisive, however, took place, till the seventeenth of June. In the neighbourhood of Charlestown, a place on the northern shore, opposite the peninsula on which Boston stands, is a high ground, called Bunker's-hill, which overlooks and commands the whole town of Boston. On the sixteenth, the provincials took possession of this place; and worked with such indefatigable industry, that, to the astonishment of their enemies, they had before day light, almost completed a redoubt, with a strong entrenchment, reaching half a mile eastward, as far as the river Mystic.

After this, they were obliged to sustain a heavy and incessant fire from the ships and floating batteries, with which Charlestown neck was surrounded; as well as the cannon that could reach the place from Boston. In spite of all opposition, they continued their work, and finished it before mid-day. A considerable body of foot was then landed at the foot of Bunker's hill, under the command of generals Howe and Pigot; the former being appointed to attack the lines, and the latter the redoubt. The Americans having the advantage of the ground, as well as of entrenchments, poured down upon the British such incessant volleys, as threatened the whole body with destruction; and general Howe was for some time left almost alone; all his officers being either killed or wounded.

The provincials, in the meantime, had taken possession of Charlestown, so that general Pigot was obliged to contend with them in that place, as well as those in the redoubt. The consequence was, that he was overmatched; his troops were thrown into disorder, and he would, in all probability, have been defeated, had not general Clinton advanced to his relief: upon which the attack was renewed with fresh fury, so that the provincials were driven beyond the neck that leads to Charlestown.

In the heat of the engagement, the British troops, in order to deprive the enemy of a cover, set fire to Charlestown, which was totally consumed; and, eventually, the Americans were obliged to retreat over Charlestown neck, which was incessantly raked by the fire of the Glasgow man of war, and several floating batteries. The loss on the side of the British was computed at one thousand; among whom were nineteen officers killed and seventy wounded. The loss of the Americans did not exceed five hundred.

This was a dear-bought victory to the British. The Americans boasted that the advantage lay on their side, as they had so weakened the enemy, that they durst not afterwards move out of their entrenchments. This being the first time the provincials were in actual service, it must be owned they behaved with great spirit;



and by no means merited the appellation of cowards, with which they were so often branded in Britain. In other places the same determined spirit appeared.

Lord North's conciliatory scheme was utterly rejected by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey; and afterwards in every other province. The affray at Lexington determined the colony of New-York, which had hitherto continued to waver; and as the situation of New-York rendered it unable to resist an attack from the sea, it was resolved, before the arrival of a British fleet, to secure the military stores, send off the women and children, and set fire to the city, if it was still found incapable of defence.

The exportation of provisions was every where prohibited, particularly to the British fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or to such other colonies in America, as should adhere to the British interest. Congress resolved on the establishment of an army, and of a large paper currency, in order to support it.

In the inland northern colonies, colonels Easton and Ethan Allen, without receiving any orders from Congress, or communicating their design to any body, with a party of two hundred and fifty men, surprised the forts of Crown-point and Ticonderoga, and those that formed a communication betwixt the colonies and Canada. On this occasion two hundred cannon fell into their hands, some brass field-pieces, mortars and military stores, together with two armed vessels, and materials for the construction of others.

After the battle of Bunker's-hill, the provincials erected fortifications on the heights which commanded Charlestown, and strengthened the rest in such a manner. that there was no hope of their being driven from thence; at the same time, their boldness and activity astonished the British officers, who had been accustomed to entertain a mean and unjust opinion of their courage.

The troops shut up in Boston, were soon reduced to distress. They were obliged to attempt carrying off the cattle on the islands before Boston, which produced frequent skirmishes; but the provincials, better acquainted with the navigation of the shores, landed on the islands, and destroyed or carried off whatever was of any use, burned the lighthouse at the entrance of the harbour, and took prisoners the workmen employed to repair it, as well as a party of marines sent to protect them. Thus the garrison was reduced to the necessity of sending out armed vessels, to make prizes indiscriminately of all that came in their way, and of landing in different places, to plunder for subsistence, as well as they could.

The Congress, in the meantime, continued to act with vigour. Articles of confederation and perpetual union were drawn up, and solemnly agreed to: by which they bound themselves and their posterity forever, as follows.

1. Each colony was to be independent within itself, and to retain an absolute sovereignty in all domestic affairs.

2. Delegates to be annually elected, to meet in Congress, at such time and place as should be enacted in the preceeding Congress.

3. This assembly should have the power of determining war, or peace, making alliances; and in short, all that power which sovereigns of states usually claim as their own.

4. The expenses were to be paid out of the common treasury, and raised by a poll tax on males between 16 and 60, the proportions to be determined by the laws of the colony.

5. An executive council to be appointed to act in place of the Congress during its recess.

6. No colony to make war with the Indians without consent of Congress.

7. The boundaries of all the Indian lands to be ascertained and secured to them; and no purchases of lands were to be made by individuals, or even by a colony, without consent of Congress.

8. Agents appointed by Congress should reside among the Indians, to prevent frauds in trading with them, and to relieve, at the public expense, their wants and distresses.

9. This confederation to last until there should be a reconciliation with Britain; or if that event should not take place, it was to be perpetual.

After the action of Bunker's-hill, however, when the power of Great Britain appeared less formidable to the Americans than before, Congress proceeded to justify their proceedings, in a declaration drawn up in terms more expressive, and well calculated to excite attention. "Were it possible (said they) for men who exercise their reason, to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness as the objects of a legal domination, never to be resisted, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies, might at least require from the parliament of Great Britain, some evidence that this dreadful authority over them had been granted to that body; but a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense must convince all those who reflect on the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered to the attainment of that end.

The legislature of great Britain, stimulated by an inordinate passion for power, not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be particularly repugnant to the constitution of that kingdom, and despairing of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to law, truth or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving

these colonies, by violence; and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason, to arms. Yet, however blind that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice in the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause."

After taking notice of the manner in which their ancestors left Britain, the happiness attending the mutual and friendly intercourse betwixt that country and her colonies, and the remarkable success in the late war; they proceed as follows: "The new ministry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, look up to the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friend.

These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state as to prevent victories without bloodshed; and all the easy emolument of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour, from the beginning of their colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and useful services, during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honourable manner, by his Majesty, the late king, and by parliament; could not save them from the intended innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project; and assuming a new power over them, has, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt of the effects of acquiescence under it.

They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent; though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty, and vice admiralty, beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable rights of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of our colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature, and solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting murderers from legal trial, and in effect from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a disposition dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists, charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried. But why should we enumerate our injuries, in detail? By one statute it was declared, that parliament might, with of right, make laws to bind us in all cases whatever. What they did



defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single person who assumes it, is chosen by us, or is subject to our control, or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws; and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as it increases ours.

We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament, in the most mild and decent language; but administration, sensible that we should regard these measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them.

We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off all commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as our last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation on earth would supplant our liberty; this we flattered ourselves was the ultimate step of the controversy; but subsequent events have shown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies!

The lords and commons, in their address in the month of February, 1775, said, that a rebellion at that time actually existed in the province of Massachusetts Bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations, and engagements entered into by his majesty's subjects in several of the colonies; and therefore they besought his majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature. Soon after, the commercial intercourse of those colonies with foreign countries was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their subsistence; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to general Gage. Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence, of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay or even to mitigate, the heedless fury with which these accumulated outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and of many other respectable towns in our favour.

After having reproached parliament, general Gage, and the British government, in general, they proceed thus: "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to tyranny, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We <sup>desist</sup> counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful <sup>be ha</sup> as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice, and humanity, forbid us <sup>temp</sup> to surrender that freedom which we received from our

gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. Our cause is just; our union is perfect; our internal resources are great; and if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We fight not for glory or conquest; we exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death. In our native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, for the protection of our property, acquired by the honest industry of our forefathers, and our own, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms; we shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of our aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed.....and not before."

These are some of the most striking passages in the declaration of Congress on taking up arms against Great Britain. Without inquiring whether the principles on which it is founded are right or wrong, the determined spirit which it shows, ought to have convinced the ministry that the conquest of America was an event not reasonably to be expected. In every other respect an equal spirit was shown; and the rulers of the British nation had the mortification to see those whom they styled rebels and traitors, succeed in negotiations in which they themselves were utterly foiled. In the passing the Quebec bill the ministry had flattered themselves that the Canadians would be so much attached to them on account of restoring the French laws, that they would readily join in any attempt against the colonists, who had reprobated that bill in such strong terms; but in this, as in every thing else, they found themselves much mistaken.

The Canadians having been subject to the British government for a period of fifteen years, and being thus made sensible of the superior advantages of the laws of that country, received the bill with evident marks of disapprobation; so far, that they reprobated it as tyrannical and oppressive.

A scheme had been formed for general Carleton, governor of the province, to raise an army of Canadians, wherewith to act against the Americans; and so sanguine were the hopes of administration, in this respect, that they had sent twenty thousand stands of arms and a great quantity of military stores to Quebec, for that purpose. But the people, though they did not join the Americans, yet were found immovable in their purpose to remain neuter. Application was made to the bishop; but he declined to use his influence, as contrary to the rules of the popish clergy; so that the utmost efforts of government in this province were found abortive.

The British administration next tried to engage the Indians, in their cause. But though agents were dispersed among them with large presents to the chiefs, they universally replied, that they did

not understand the nature of the quarrel, nor could they distinguish whether those who dwelt in America, or those on the other side of the ocean, were in the fault; but they were surprised to see Englishmen ask their assistance against one another, and advised them to be reconciled, and not to think of shedding the blood of their brethren.

To the representations of congress they paid more attention. These informed them that the English on the other side of the ocean, had taken up arms to enslave, not only their countrymen in America, but the Indians also; and if they overcame the colonists, themselves would soon be reduced to slavery also. The savages, upon maturely weighing the subject, concluded to remain neuter; and thus the colonists were freed from a most dangerous enemy.

On this occasion, Congress held a solemn conference with the different tribes of Indians. A speech was proposed, which exhibits a specimen of the manner in which Europeans always address the savage inhabitants of America.

*“ Brothers, Sachems, and Warriors !*

“ We, the delegates from the twelve united provinces, now sitting in general congress at Philadelphia, send our talk to you  
“ our brothers.

*“ Brothers and Friends now attend !*

“ When our fathers crossed the great water, and came over to this land, the king of England gave them a talk, promising them that they and their children should be his children, and if they would leave their native country, and make settlements, and live here, and buy and sell, and trade with their brethren beyond the great water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant chain, and enjoy peace; and it was covenanted, that the fields, houses, goods, and possessions, which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their children’s forever, and at their sole disposal.

*“ Brothers and Friends open an ear !*

“ We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counsellors of king George and the inhabitants of the colonies of America.

“ Many of his counsellors have persuaded him to break the covenant chain, and not to send us any more good talks. They have prevailed upon him to enter into a covenant against us, and have torn asunder, and cast behind their backs, the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into, and took strong hold of. They now tell us they will put their hands into our pockets without asking, as though it were their own, and at



“their will and pleasure; they will take from us our charter, or  
 “written civil constitution, which we love as our lives; also our  
 “plantations, our houses, and our goods, whenever they please,  
 “without asking our leave. They tell us also, that our vessels may  
 “go to that or this island in the sea, but to this or that particular  
 “island, we shall not trade any more; and in case of our non-com-  
 “pliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbours.

“Brothers, we live on the same ground with you; the same  
 “island is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under  
 “the same tree of peace with you: let us water its roots, and  
 “cherish the growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches  
 “shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies. If any  
 “thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us, the twelve  
 “United Colonies, and you, the Six Nations, to wound our peace,  
 “let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From  
 “the present situation of our affairs, we judge it expedient to kin-  
 “dle up a small fire at Albany, where we may hear each other’s  
 “voice, and disclose our minds fully to one another.”

The other remarkable transactions of this Congress, were the ultimate refusal of the conciliatory proposal made by lord North, of which such sanguine expectations had been formed by the English ministry; and the appointment of a generalissimo to command their armies, which were now very numerous. The person chosen for this purpose, was George Washington, a man universally beloved; he was raised to the high station of Commander in Chief, by the unanimous voice of Congress, in 1775: and his subsequent conduct shewed him every way worthy of it. Horatio Gates and Charles Lee, two English officers of considerable reputation, were also chosen; the former adjutant-general, the latter major-general. Artemas Ward, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, were likewise nominated major-generals. Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Green, were chosen brigadier-generals at the same time.

About this period Georgia sent deputies to congress, expressing their desire to join the confederacy. The reasons they gave for their renouncing their allegiance to Britain was, that the conduct of parliament towards the other colonies had been oppressive; and though the obnoxious acts had not been extended to them, they could view this only as an omission, because of the seeming little consequence of their colony; and therefore looked upon it rather as a slight than a favour. At the same time, they framed a petition to the king, similar to that sent by the other colonies, and which met a similar reception.

The success which had hitherto attended the Americans, now emboldened them to act offensively against Great Britain. The conquest of Canada appeared to be practicable, and which would

be attended with many advantages; and as Crown Point and Ticonderoga were already in their hands, the invasion that way might be easily effected, and supposed that Quebec might be reduced during the winter, before the fleets and armies, which they were well assured would sail thither from Britain, should arrive.

Congress therefore ordered three thousand men under the command of generals Montgomery and Schuyler to proceed to Lake Champlain, from whence they were to be conveyed in flat-bottomed boats to the mouth of the river Sorel, a branch of the river St. Lawrence, and on which is situated a fort of the same name with the river. On the other hand, they were opposed by general Carleton, governor of Canada, a man of great activity and experience in war; who, with a small number of troops, had been able to keep in awe the disaffected people in Canada, notwithstanding all the representations of the colonists. He had now augmented his army with a number of Indians, and promised, even in his present situation, to make a formidable resistance.

When general Montgomery arrived at Crown Point, he received information that several armed vessels were stationed at St. Johns, a strong fort on the Sorel, with a view to prevent his crossing the lake: on which he took possession of an island which commands the mouth of the Sorel, and by which he could prevent them from entering the lake. In conjunction with general Schuyler, he next proceeded to St. Johns; but finding that place too strong, it was agreed in a council of war, to retire to Isle aux Noix, where general Schuyler being taken ill, Montgomery was left to command alone. His first step was to gain over the Indians, whom general Carleton had employed, and this he in part accomplished; after which, on receiving the full number of troops appointed for the expedition, he determined to lay siege to St. Johns; in this he was the more encouraged by the reduction of Chamblee, a small fort in the neighbourhood, where he found a large supply of powder. An attempt was made by general Carleton to relieve the place; for which purpose, he collected one thousand Canadians, while colonel Maclean proposed to raise a regiment of Highlanders, who had emigrated from their own country to America.

But while general Carleton was on his march with these new levies, he was attacked by the provincials, and defeated; which being made known to Macdonald's party, they abandoned him without striking a blow, and he was obliged to retreat to Quebec. The defeat of general Carleton was considered as a sufficient recompence for that of colonel Ethan Allen, which had happened a short time previous to this.

The success of colonel Allen against Crown Point and Ticonderoga had emboldened him to make a similar attempt on Montreal; but the militia of the place, supported by a detachment of regulars, entirely defeated him, and he was taken prisoner.

The garrison of St. Johns being informed of the defeat of general Carleton, and seeing no hope of relief, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. They were in number five hundred regulars and two hundred Canadians, among whom were many of the French nobility, who had been very active in promoting the cause of Britain among their countrymen. General Montgomery next took measures to prevent the British shipping from passing down the river from Montreal to Quebec. This he accomplished so effectually that the whole were taken. The town surrendered at discretion; and it was with the utmost difficulty that general Carleton escaped in an open boat, favoured by a dark night. No obstacle now remained to impede their progress to the capital, except what arose from the nature of the country; and these indeed were very considerable.

But it seems that nothing could damp the ardour of the provincials. Although it was in the middle of November, and the depth of winter at hand, colonel Arnold formed the design of penetrating through the woods and morasses, from New England to Canada, by a nearer route, than that which Montgomery had chosen; and this he accomplished in spite of every difficulty, to the astonishment of all who seen or heard of the attempt. A third part of his men under another colonel, had been obliged to leave him by the way for want of provisions; the total want of artillery, rendered his presence insignificant before a place so strongly fortified; and the smallness of his army, rendered it doubtful whether he could take the town by surprise.

The Canadians were amazed at the exploit; but none of them as yet took up arms in behalf of America. The consternation into which the town of Quebec was thrown was detrimental to the Americans, as it doubled the vigilance of the inhabitants to prevent any surprise; and the appearance of common danger, united all parties, who, before the arrival of Arnold, were violently contending with one another. He was, therefore, obliged to content himself with blocking up the avenues of the town, with hopes of distressing the inhabitants for want of provisions; and even this he was not able effectually to accomplish, with such a small number of men.

The arrival of general Montgomery, although it raised the spirits of the party, yet the small force he had with him, when joined to that of Arnold, was too weak to reduce a place so strongly fortified; they having only a few mortars and field pieces, which were not to be depended upon.

The siege having continued through the month of December, general Montgomery, still finding he could not accomplish his end any other way than by surprize, resolved to make the attempt on the last day of the year 1775. He advanced by break of day, in the midst of a heavy fall of snow, which covered his men from



the sight of the enemy. Two real attacks were made by himself and colonel Arnold; at the same time two feigned attacks were made in other places, hoping thereby to distract the garrison, and divide their forces. One of the real attacks was made by the New York troops, and the other by those of New England under Arnold. By a mistake in the signal for the attack being given too soon, their hopes of surprizing the town were defeated.

General Montgomery himself had the most dangerous place, being obliged to pass between the river and some high rocks on which the upper town stands; so that he made all the haste he could to close with the enemy. His fate was soon decided. Having forced the first barrier, a violent discharge of musquetry and grape shot from the second, killed him, the principal officers, and the most of the party he commanded: those who remained, immediately retreated. Colonel Arnold, in the meantime, made a desperate attack on the lower town, and carried one of the barriers, after an obstinate resistance for an hour; but in the action he was himself wounded, which obliged him to withdraw. The attack however was continued by the officers whom he had left, and another barrier was forced: but the garrison, now perceiving that nothing was to be feared but from that quarter, collected their whole force against it: and after a desperate engagement for three hours, overpowered the provincials and obliged them to surrender. Such a terrible disaster left no hope remaining of the accomplishment of their purpose; as general Arnold could not muster more than eight hundred men under his command.

He did not, however, abandon the province, but removed about three miles from Quebec, where he found means to annoy the garrison by intercepting their provisions.

The Canadians still continued friendly, notwithstanding the bad success of the American arms; which enabled him to sustain the hardships of a winter encampment in that most severe climate.

Congress far from passing any censure on his conduct, created him a brigadier-general.

While hostilities were thus carried on in the north, the flame of contention was gradually extending itself to the south. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, was involved in disputes similar to those which had taken place in the other colonies. He dissolved the assembly, which in this province was attended with a consequence unknown to the rest. The slaves in Virginia were numerous, it was necessary that a militia should be kept constantly in readiness to keep them in awe. During the dissolution of the assembly, the militia laws expired, and the people, after complaining of the danger they were in from the negroes, formed a convention, which enacted, that each county should raise a quota for the defence of the province. Dunmore, upon this, removed the powder from Williamsburgh: which created such discon-

tent, that an immediate quarrel would have ensued, had not the merchants of the town undertaken to obtain satisfaction for the supposed injury done to the community.

This tranquility was soon interrupted; the people were alarmed by a report, that an armed party were on their way from the man of war, to where the powder had been deposited, they assembled in arms, determined to oppose any further removals.

In some of the conferences that passed at this time the governor let fall some unguarded expressions, such as threatening them with setting up the royal standard, proclaiming liberty to the negroes, and destroying the town of Williamsburgh: which were afterwards made public, and exaggerated in such a manner, as greatly to increase the public ferment.

Assemblies of the people were frequently held. Some of them took up arms, with an intention to force the governor to restore the powder, and to take the public money into their own possession: but on their way to Williamsburgh, for this purpose, they were met by the receiver-general, who became security for the payment of the gunpowder; and the inhabitants promised to take care of the magazine and public revenue.

The governor was so much intimidated by this insurrection, that he sent his family on board a man of war. He issued a proclamation, in which he declared the behaviour of the persons who provoked the tumult, treasonable; accused the people of disaffection, &c. The people recriminated: and some letters of his to Britain being about the same time discovered, consequences ensued nearly similar to those which had been occasioned by the letters of governor Hutchinson, of Boston.

The governor, in this state of confusion, thought it necessary to fortify his palace: and procured a party of marines to guard it. About this time lord North's conciliatory proposal arrived; and the governor used his utmost endeavours to cause the people to comply with it. The arguments were plausible; and, had not matters already gone to such a length, it is highly probable that some attention would have been paid to them. "The view (he said) in which the colonies ought to behold this conciliatory proposal, was no more than an earnest admonition from Great Britain, to relieve their wants; that the utmost condescension had been used in the mode of application, no determinate sum having been fixed; as it was thought most worthy of British generosity, to take what they thought could be conveniently spared; and likewise to leave the mode of raising it to themselves," &c. But the clamour and dissatisfaction had now become so universal, that no offers, however favourable, from government would be attended to.

The governor had called an assembly, for the purpose of laying this conciliatory proposal before them: but it was little at-

As soon as his health would permit, he repaired to court where he was received with civility barely decent: he presented petition after petition, demanded the punishment of his oppressors, and the rights and privileges bestowed upon him, but the capitulation of one thousand four hundred and ninety two Ferdinand continued to amuse him with fair words and unmeaning promises. Instead of granting his claims, he proposed expedients in order to elude them.

The declining health of Columbus, flattered Ferdinand with the hopes of being soon delivered from an importunate suitor: nor was he deceived in his expectations. Disgusted with the ingratitude of a monarch, whom he had served with such fidelity and success, worn out with fatigue and hardships, and broken with infirmities, which these brought upon him, Columbus ended his life at Valladolid, on the twentieth of May, one thousand five hundred and six, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He died with composure of mind, suitable to the magnanimity which distinguished his character, and with sentiments of piety becoming that supreme respect for religion, which he manifested in every occurrence of his life.



# HISTORY OF AMERICA.

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## BOOK II.

WHILE Columbus was employed in his last voyage, the colony of Hispaniola was gradually acquiring the form of a regular government: the humane solicitude of Isabella to protect the Indians from oppression, and the proclamation, by which the Spaniards were prohibited from compelling them to work, retarded, for some time, the progress of improvement. The natives, who considered exemption from labour as supreme happiness, reject, with scorn, every allurements by which they were invited to work. The Spaniards, accustomed to the service of the Indians, quitted the island: many of those who came over with Ovando were seized with distempers peculiar to the climate; and in a short time near a thousand of them died. At the same time, the demand of one half of the product of the mines claimed by the crown, was found to be an exaction so exorbitant, that there was none to be found that would engage to work them upon such terms. Ovando, to save the colony from ruin, relaxed the rigour of the royal edicts, and again distributed the Indians among the Spaniards, compelling them to work for a stated time, in digging the mines, or in cultivating the ground: to cover this breach of his instructions, he enjoined their masters to pay them a certain sum for the price of their work. He reduced the royal share of the gold found in the mines to one fifth, and was so fortunate as to persuade the court to approve of these regulations.

The Indians, after enjoying a short respite from servitude, now felt the yoke of bondage to be so galling, that they made several attempts to regain their freedom. This the Spaniards considered as rebellion, and took arms in order to reduce them to obedience: considering them not as men fighting in defence of their liberty, but as slaves, who had revolted against their masters. Their caziques when taken, were condemned like the leaders of a banditti, to the most cruel and ignominious punishments; and all their subjects, without regard to rank, were reduced to the same abject slavery. Such was the fate of the cazique of Higüey, a province in the eastern extremity of the island.

This war was occasioned by the perfidy of the Spaniards, in violating a treaty, began and concluded by them with the natives: and was terminated by hanging up the cazique, who defended his people with a bravery that deserved a better fate.

But his treatment of Anacoana, a female cazique, was still more treacherous and cruel. The province anciently called Xaragua, which extends from the fertile plain where Leogane is now situ-

chester-neck, which the Americans had fortified in such a manner, as would in all probability, have rendered the enterprize next to desperate. No difficulties, however, were sufficient to daunt the spirit of the general; and every thing was in readiness, when a sudden storm prevented an exertion, which must have been productive of a dreadful waste of blood. Next day, upon a more close examination of the works, it was thought adviseable to desist from the attack altogether. The fortifications were very strong, and well provided with artillery; and upwards of one hundred hogsheads filled with stones, were provided to roll down upon the enemy as they came up; which, as the ascent was very steep, must have done great execution.

Nothing therefore now remained for the British, but to retreat; and to effect this, there appeared great difficulty and danger. But the Americans, knowing that it was in the power of the enemy to reduce the town to ashes, which could not have been repaired in many years, did not think proper to give the least molestation: and for the space of a fortnight the troops were employed in the evacuation of the place, from whence they carried along with them two thousand of the inhabitants, who durst not stay on account of their attachment to the British cause.

From Boston they sailed to Halifax, but all their vigilance could not prevent a number of valuable ships from falling into the hands of the provincials. A considerable quantity of cannon and ammunition had also been left at Bunker's hill and Boston neck; and in the town an immense variety of goods, principally of woollen and linen, of which the provincials stood very much in need. The estates of those who fled to Halifax were confiscated: as also of those who had remained in the town, and who had shewn a decided attachment to the British government.

As an attack was expected as soon as the British forces should arrive, every method was employed to render the fortifications impregnable. For this purpose some foreign engineers were employed, who had arrived at Boston; and so eager were the people of all ranks to accomplish this business, that every able-bodied man in the place, without distinction of rank, set apart two days in the week to complete it the sooner.

The Americans, exasperated by the proceedings of parliament, which placed them out of the royal protection and engaged foreign mercenaries in the plan for subduing them, now formally renounced all connexion with Britain, and declared themselves independent. This celebrated declaration was published on the fourth of July, 1776, as follows:

“When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of na-<sub>2</sub>

ture and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident....that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government....The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he had utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws, for the accomodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature....a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies, at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the People.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable



of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise ; The State remaining in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others, to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws, for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislature.

He has affected to render the military, independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction, foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :....

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States :....

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :....

For imposing taxes on us without our consent :....

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury :....

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences :....

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument, for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :....

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments :....

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny,

already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undisputed destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a Free People.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time, of attempts made by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind....enemies in war....in peace, friends.

“WE, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, Do, in the name and by the authority of the good People of these colonies, solemnly declare, that these United Colonies are, and, of right ought to be Free and Independent States:....that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connexion, between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.”

Previous to this, a circular letter had been sent through each colony, stating the reason for it; and such was the animosity now every where prevailing against Great Britain, that it met with general approbation, except in the province of Maryland.

alone. It was not long, however, before the people of that colony, finding themselves left in a very dangerous minority, thought proper to accede to the measures of the rest.

The manifesto itself, was in the usual nervous style, stating a long list of grievances, for a redress of which they had often applied, but in vain; for these reasons they determined on a final separation; and to hold the people of Great Britain, as well as the rest of mankind, "enemies in war, in peace friends."

After thus publicly throwing off all allegiance and hope of reconciliation, the colonists soon found that an exertion of all their strength would be necessary to support their pretensions. Their arms had not been successful in Canada. Reinforcements had been promised to general Arnold, who still continued to blockade Quebec; but they did not arrive in time to second his operations. But being sensible that he must either desist from the enterprise or finish it successfully, he recommenced his operations in form and attempted to destroy the shipping and burn the town. They succeeded so far as to burn a number of houses in the suburbs, and the garrison were obliged to pull down the remainder, in order to prevent the fire from spreading. Notwithstanding the provincials were unable to reduce the town, they kept the garrison in continual alarms, and in a very disagreeable situation.

Some of the nobility collected in a body under the command of one gentleman whose name was Beaujeau, in order to relieve their capital; but they were met on their march by the provincials and defeated. The Americans had but little reason to plume themselves upon this success. The want of artillery convinced them that it was impracticable in their situation to reduce a town so strongly fortified; the small-pox at the same time made its appearance in their camp, and carried off great numbers; intimidating the rest to such a degree, that they deserted in crowds. To add to their misfortunes, the British reinforcements unexpectedly appeared, and the ships made their way with such surprising celerity through the ice, that the one part of the army was separated from the other, and general Carleton sallying out, as soon as the reinforcement was landed, obliged them to fly with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them all their cannon and military stores; at the same time that their shipping was captured by vessels sent up the river for that purpose.

On this occasion, the provincials fled with such haste, that they could not be overtaken; so that none fell into the hands of the British excepting the sick and the wounded. General Carleton, now gave an instance of his humanity: being well apprized that many of the provincials had not been able to accompany the rest in their retreat: and that they were concealed in the woods, &c. in a very deplorable situation, he generously issued a proclamation, ordering proper persons to seek them out, and give them re-



lief at the public expense ; and at the same time, lest through fear of their being made prisoners, they should refuse these offers of humanity, he promised that as soon as their situation enabled them they should be at liberty to depart to their respective homes.

The British general, now freed from any danger of an attack, was soon enabled to act offensively against the provincials, by the arrival of the forces destined for that purpose from Britain. By these he was put at the head of twelve thousand regular troops ; among whom were those of Brunswick. With this force he set out for the Three rivers, where he expected Arnold would have made a stand ; but he had retired to Sorel, a place one hundred and fifty miles from Quebec ; where he was at last met by the reinforcements ordered by Congress.

Here, though the preceding events were by no means calculated to inspire much military ardour, a very daring enterprize was undertaken ; and this was to surprise the British troops, posted under generals Fraser and Nesbit : of whom the former commanded those on land ; the latter, such as were on board the transports, and were but a little way distant. The enterprize was very hazardous both on account of the strength of the parties, against whom they were to act, and as the main body of the British forces were advanced within fifty miles of the place ; besides that a number of armed vessels, and transports with troops, lay between them and the Three Rivers. Two thousand chosen men, however, under general Thompson, engaged in this undertaking. Their success was by no means answerable to their spirit and valour.

Though they passed the shipping without being observed, general Frazer had notice of their landing, and thus being prepared to receive them, they were soon thrown into disorder ; at the same time that general Nesbit, having landed his forces, prepared to attack them in the rear. On this occasion, some field pieces did prodigious execution ; and a retreat was found to be unavoidable. General Nesbit was now between them and their boats ; so that they were obliged to take a circuit through a deep swamp, while they were hotly pursued by both parties at the same time, who marched for some miles on each side of the swamp, till at last the unfortunate provincials were sheltered from further danger by a wood at the end of the swamp. Their general, however, was taken with two hundred of his men.

By this disaster, the provincials lost all hopes of accomplishing any thing in Canada. They, therefore, demolished their works, and carried off their artillery, with the utmost expedition. They were pursued by general Burgoyne, against whom it was expected they would have collected all their force, and make a resolute stand. But they were now too much dispirited by misfortune, to make any more exertions of valour. On the eighteenth of June, the British general arrived at Fort St. Johns, which he found

abandoned and burnt. Chamblee had shared the same fate; as well as all the vessels that were not capable of being dragged up the river. It was thought they would have made some resistance at Nut-Island, the entrance to Lake Champlain: but this also they abandoned: and retreated across the lake to Crown-point, whither they could not be immediately followed.

Thus was the province of Canada entirely evacuated by the provincials, whose loss in their retreat from Quebec, was calculated at not less than one thousand men, of whom four hundred in one body, fell into the hands of the enemy at a place called the Cedars, about fifty miles from Montreal. General Sullivan, who conducted this retreat, after the affair of general Thompson, had great merit in what he did, and received the thanks of Congress accordingly.

The bad success in the north was in some measure compensated by what happened in the southern colonies....It has been formerly noticed that governor Martin of North Carolina, had been obliged to leave his province, and take refuge on board of a man of war. He notwithstanding did not despair of reducing it again to obedience. He, therefore, applied to the regulators, a daring set of banditti, who lived in a kind of independent state; and though considered by government as rebels, yet had never been molested on account of their known skill in the use of fire arms. To the chiefs of these people commissions were sent, in order to raise some regiments; and a colonel Macdonald was appointed to command them. In the month of February he erected the king's standard, issued proclamations, &c. and collected some forces; expecting soon to be joined by a body of regular troops, who were known to be shipped from Britain to act against the southern colonies.

The Americans, sensible of their danger, despatched immediately what forces they had to act against the royalists, at the same time they exerted themselves to support these with suitable reinforcements. General Moore's numbers at first were inferior to Macdonald's, which induced the latter to hope that he might intimidate him to join the king's standard; with this intention he summoned him under the pain of being treated as a rebel if he refused. But Moore being well provided with cannon, and conscious that nothing could be attempted against him, returned the compliment by acquainting Macdonald, that if he and his party would lay down their arms, and subscribe an oath of fidelity to Congress, they should be treated as friends, but if they persisted in an undertaking for which it was evident he had not sufficient strength, they could not but expect the severest treatment.

In a few days general Moore found himself at the head of 8,000 men, by reason of the continual supplies which daily arrived from all parts. The royal party only amounted to 2,000, and as they

were destitute of artillery, they were prevented from attacking the enemy with success, when they had the advantage of numbers. Nothing now remained but to have recourse to a desperate exertion of their own personal valour; by dint of which they effected a retreat for eighty miles to Moore's Creek, within sixteen miles of Wilmington. Could they have gained this place, they expected to have been joined by governor Martin, and general Clinton, who had lately arrived with a considerable detachment. But Moore, with his army, pursued them so close, that they were obliged to attempt the passage of the creek, on the opposite side of which was colonel Caswell, with a considerable body of provincials posted to oppose his passage, with fortifications well planted with cannon. On attempting the creek, it was found not to be fordable. They were obliged, therefore, to cross over a wooden bridge, which the provincials had not time entirely to destroy.

They had, however, by pulling up part of the planks, and greasing the remainder, made the passage so difficult that the royalists could not attempt it.

In this situation they were, on the 27th of February, 1776, attacked by Moore and his superior army and totally defeated, with the loss of their general and most of their leaders, as well as the best and bravest of their men. Thus was the power of the provincials established in North Carolina. Nor were they less successful in Virginia, where Lord Dunmore, having long continued a predatory war, was at last driven from every creek and road in the province. The people he had on board were distressed to the highest degree, by confinement in small vessels. The heat of the season, and the numbers crowded together, produced a pestilential fever, which made great havoc, especially among the blacks. At last, finding themselves in the utmost hazard of perishing by famine, as well as disease, they set fire to the least valuable vessels, reserving only about fifty for themselves, in which they bid a final adieu to Virginia, some sailing to Florida, some to Bermuda, and the rest to the West-Indies.

In South Carolina the provincials had a more formidable enemy to deal with. A squadron, whose object was the reduction of Charleston, had been fitted out in December, 1775, but by reason of unfavourable weather did not reach Cape Fear in North Carolina till the month of May, 1776: and here it met with further obstacles to the end of the month. Thus the Americans had time to strengthen the works of Charleston in such a manner as rendered it extremely difficult to be attacked.

The British squadron consisted of two fifty gun ships, four of thirty guns, two of twenty, and an armed schooner, and bomb-ketch, all under the command of sir Peter Parker. The land forces were commanded by lord Cornwallis, with generals Clinton and Vaughan. As they had yet no intelligence of the evacuation



of Boston, general Howe despatched a vessel to Cape Fear with some instructions; but it was too late; and in the beginning of June, the squadron anchored off Charleston bar. Here they met with some difficulty in crossing, being obliged to take out the guns from the two largest ships, which were, notwithstanding, several times in danger of sticking fast. The next obstacle was a strong fort on Sullivan's island, six miles east of Charleston, which, though not completely finished, was very strong. However, the British generals resolved without hesitation to attack it; but though an attack was easy from sea, it was difficult to obtain a co-operation of the land forces.

This was, however, attempted by landing them on Long Island, adjacent to Sullivan's Island on the east, from which it is separated by a very narrow creek, not above two feet deep at low water. Opposite to this ford, the provincials had posted a strong body of troops, with cannon and entrenchments; while general Lee was posted on the main land, with a bridge of boats betwixt that and Sullivan's island, so that he could at pleasure, send reinforcements to the troops in the fort on Sullivan's island.

There were so many delays occurred on the part of the British, that it was the 24th of June, 1776, before matters were in readiness for an attack; and, by this time, the provincials had abundantly provided for their reception. On the morning of that day, the bomb-ketch began to throw shells into fort Sullivan, and about mid-day the two fifty gun ships and thirty gun frigates, came up and began a severe fire. Three other frigates were ordered to take their station between Charleston and the fort, in order to enfilade the batteries, and cut off the communication with the main land; but through the ignorance of the pilots, they all stuck fast, and though two of them were disentangled, they were found to be totally unfit for service; the third was burnt, that she might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

The attack was therefore confined to the five armed vessels, and bomb-ketch, between whom and the fort, a dreadful fire ensued. The Bristol suffered excessively, the springs on her cable being shot away, she was for a time entirely exposed to the enemy's fire. As the provincials poured in great quantities of red hot balls, she was twice in flames. Captain Morris, her commander, after receiving five wounds, was obliged to go below deck in order to have his arm amputated: after undergoing this operation, he returned to his station, where he received another wound, but still refused to quit his place; at last he received a red hot ball in his belly, which instantly put an end to his life. Of all the officers and seamen, who stood on the quarter deck of this vessel, not one escaped without a wound, except sir Peter Parker alone, whose intrepidity and presence of mind, on this occasion, was very remarkable.

The engagement lasted until the darkness put an end to it. Little damage was done by the British, as the works of the enemy lay so low, that many of the shot flew over; and the fortifications, being composed of palm trees, mixed with earth, were well calculated to resist the impression of cannon. During the height of the attack, the batteries of the provincials were silent, so that it was concluded that they had been abandoned; but this was found to proceed from want of powder; for as soon as a supply of this article was obtained, the firing was resumed as brisk as before. During the whole of this desperate engagement, it was found impossible for the land forces to render any assistance to the fleet.

The enemy's works were found to be much stronger than had been imagined, and the depth of water effectually prevented them from making any attempt. In this unsuccessful attempt, the loss of the British in killed and wounded was two hundred. The Bristol and Experiment, were so much damaged, it was thought they could not get over the bar: this they accomplished, however, by great exertion of naval skill, to the surprise of the provincials, who had expected to have made them both prizes. It was said the Americans lost considerable in this engagement.

In the beginning of March, commodore Hopkins was despatched by Congress, with five frigates, to the Bahama islands, where he made himself master of the ordnance and military stores; but the gunpowder, which had been the principal object, was removed. On his return he captured several vessels; but was foiled in his attempt on the Glasgow frigate, which found means to escape, notwithstanding the efforts of the whole squadron.

Hitherto the Americans had been generally successful; they had now to experience misfortune, misery and disappointment; the enemy overrunning the country, and their own armies not able to face them in the field. The province of New-York, being the most accessible by sea, was made the object for the main attack. The force sent against it, consisted of six ships of the line, thirty frigates, besides other armed vessels, and a vast number of transports. The fleet was commanded by lord Howe, and the land forces by his brother, general sir William Howe, who was now at Halifax. The latter, however, had set sail a considerable time before his brother arrived, and lay before New York, but without attempting to commence hostilities, until he should be joined by his brother.

The Americans had, according to custom, fortified New York, and the adjacent islands in an extraordinary manner. General Howe, notwithstanding, was suffered to land his troops on Staten island, where he was soon joined by a number of inhabitants. About the middle of July, lord Howe arrived with the grand armament, and being one of the commissioners appointed to receive the submission of the colonists, he published a circular letter to the

several governors, who had lately been expelled from their provinces, desiring them to make the extent of his commission and the powers he was invested with by parliament as public as possible.

Here, however, the Congress saved him trouble, by ordering his letter and declaration to be published in all the newspapers, "That every one might see the insidiousness of the British ministry: and, that they had nothing to trust to, besides the exertion of their own valour."

Lord Howe next sent a letter to general Washington; but as it was directed "To George Washington, Esq." the general refused to accept it, as not being in a style suited to his station. To obviate this objection, adjutant-general Patterson was sent with another letter directed "To George Washington, &c. &c. &c." but though a very polite reception was given to the bearer, general Washington utterly refused the letter, nor could any explanation of the adjutant induce him to accept of it. The only interesting part was that relating to the powers of the commissioners, of whom lord Howe was one.

The adjutant told him, that these powers were very extensive; that the commissioners were determined to exert themselves to the utmost, in order to bring about a reconciliation; and that he hoped the general would consider this visit as a step towards it. General Washington replied, that it did not appear that these powers consisted in any thing else than granting pardons; and as America had committed no offence, she asked no forgiveness; and, was only defending her unquestionable rights.

The decision being now left to the sword, no time was lost, and hostilities commenced as soon as the British troops could be collected. This was not done before the month of August, when they landed without opposition on Long Island, opposite to the shore of Staten island. General Putnam, with a large body of troops, lay encamped, and strongly fortified, on a peninsula on the opposite shore, with a range of hills between the armies, the principal pass of which was near a place called Flat-Bush: here the centre of the British army, consisting of Hessians, took post; the left wing, under general Grant, lying near the shore; and the right consisting of the greater part of the British force, lay under lord Percy, Cornwallis and general Clinton. Putnam had ordered these passes to be secured by large detachments, which was executed immediately with those that were near; but one of the most importance, that lay at a distance, was entirely neglected. Through this a large body of troops under lord Percy and Clinton, passed, and attacked the Americans in the rear, while they were engaged with the Hessians in front.

Through this piece of negligence their defeat became inevitable. Those who were engaged with the Hessians, first perceived their mistake, and began to retreat towards their camp; but the



passage was intercepted by the British troops, who drove them back into the woods. Here they were met by the Hessians; and thus were they for many hours slaughtered between two parties, no way of escape but by forcing their way through the British troops, and thus regaining their camp. In this attempt many perished; and the right wing, engaged with general Grant, shared the same fate. The victory was complete; and the Americans lost on this fatal day, August the twenty seventh, upwards of one thousand men, and two generals: several officers of distinction were made prisoners, with a number of privates. Among the slain a regiment, consisting of young gentlemen of fortune and family in Maryland, was almost entirely cut to pieces, and of the survivors not one escaped without a wound.

The ardour of the British troops was now so great, that they could scarce be restrained from attacking the lines of the provincials; but for this there was now no occasion, as it was certain they could not be defended; but had the ardour of the soldiers been seconded, and general Howe pursued his victory, it might have given such a blow to the Americans, and such a turn to their affairs, that they would not have been able to have regained that confidence in their own strength, which they had hitherto maintained.

Of the British and Hessians about four hundred and fifty were lost in this engagement. As none of the American commanders thought it proper to risk another attack, it was resolved to abandon their camp as soon as possible. Accordingly, on the twenty ninth of August, the whole of the continental troops were ferried over from Brooklin to New York, with the utmost secrecy and silence; so that, in the morning, the British had nothing to do but to take possession of the camp and artillery which they had abandoned.

This victory, though complete, was far from being so decisive as the conquerors imagined. Lord Howe, supposing it would be sufficient to intimidate congress into some terms, sent general Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner in the late action, to congress with a message, importing, that though he could not consistently treat with them as a legal assembly, yet he would be very glad to confer with any of the members in a private capacity; setting forth, at the same time, the nature and extent of his power as commissioner. But the congress were not at all inclined to derogate from the dignity of character they had assumed. They replied, that the congress of the free and independent states of America could not, consistently, send any of its members in another capacity than that which they had publicly assumed; but as they were extremely desirous of restoring peace to their country upon equitable conditions, they would appoint a committee of their body to wait upon him, and learn what proposals he had to make.

The committee appointed by congress was composed of Dr. Franklin, Adams, and Rutledge. They were very politely re-

ceived by his lordship; but the conference proved fruitless. The final answer of the deputies was that they were extremely willing to enter into any treaty with Great Britain that might conduce to the good of both nations; but that they would not treat in any other character than that of Independent States. This positive declaration put an end to all hopes of reconciliation, and it was resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour.

Lord Howe, after publishing a manifesto, in which he declared the refusal of Congress, and that he himself was willing to confer with all well disposed persons about the means of restoring public tranquility, set about the most proper methods for reducing the city of New York. Here the provincial troops were posted, and, from a great number of batteries, kept continually annoying the British shipping. The East river, about twelve hundred yards in breadth, lay between them, which the British troops were extremely desirous of passing. At last the ships, after an incessant cannonade of several days, silenced the batteries; a body of troops was sent up the river to a bay, about three miles distant, where the fortifications were less strong than in other places. Here, having driven off the provincials by the cannon of the fleet, they marched directly towards the city; but the provincials, finding that they should now be attacked on all sides, abandoned the city, and retreated to the north of the island, where their principal force was collected. In their passage thither they skirmished with the British, but carefully avoided a general engagement; and it was observed that they did not behave with that ardour and impetuous valour which had hitherto marked their character.

The British and American armies were now not above two miles from each other. The former lay encamped from shore to shore, for an extent of two miles, being the breadth of the island, which, though fifteen miles long, exceeds not two in any part of the breadth. The provincials, who lay directly opposite, had strengthened their camp with many fortifications; and at the same time, were masters of all the passes and defiles betwixt the two camps: thus were they enabled to maintain their station against an army much more numerous than their own: they had also strongly fortified a pass called King's Bridge, on the northern extremity of the island, whence they could secure a passage to the continent in case of any misfortunes. Here general Washington, in order to innure the provincials to actual service and, at the same time to annoy the enemy as much as possible, employed his troops in continual skirmishes; by which it was observed they recovered their spirits, and behaved with their usual boldness.

As the situation of the armies was now highly inconvenient to the British generals, it was resolved to make such movements as might oblige general Washington to relinquish his strong situation. A few days after New York was evacuated by the Ameri-

cans, a dreadful fire broke out, said to be occasioned by the licentious conduct of some of its new masters; and had it not been for the active exertions of the sailors and soldiery, the whole town probably would have been consumed; the wind being high, and the weather remarkably dry, about a thousand houses were destroyed.

General Howe, having left lord Percy with a sufficient force to garrison New York, embarked his army in flat bottomed boats, by which they were conveyed through the dangerous passage called Hell Gate, and landed at Frog's Point, near the town of West Chester, lying on the continent towards Connecticut. Here, having received a supply of men and provisions, they moved on the twenty-first of October, to New Rochelle, situated on the Sound which separates Long Island from the continent.

After this, still receiving fresh reinforcements, they made such movements as threatened to distress the provincials very much, by cutting off their convoys of provisions from Connecticut, and thus force them to an engagement. This general Washington determined at all events to avoid. He therefore extended his forces into a long line opposite to the way in which the enemy marched, keeping the Bronx, a river of considerable magnitude, between the two armies, with the North river in his rear. Here the provincials continued for some time to skirmish with the royal army, until, at last, by some manœuvres, the British general found means to attack them on the twenty-eighth of October, 1776, advantageously, at a place called the White Plains, and drove them from some of their posts.

The success on this occasion was not so complete as on the former; however, it obliged the provincials to change their ground, and retreat further up the country. General Howe pursued them for some time; but at last, finding all his endeavours to bring on a general action, fruitless, he determined to give over the pursuit, and employ himself in reducing the forts which the provincials still retained in the neighbourhood of New York.

Fort Washington was the only post the Americans then held on New York island, and was under the command of colonel Mawgaw. The royal army made four attacks upon it. The first on the north side, was led on by general Knyphausen: the second, on the east by general Matthews, supported by lord Cornwallis: the third was under the direction of lieutenant-colonel Sterling: and the fourth by lord Percy. The troops under Knyphausen, when advancing to the fort, had to pass through a thick wood, which was occupied by Rawling's regiment of riflemen, and suffered very much from their well-directed fire. during this attack, a body of British light infantry advanced against a party of the Americans, who were annoying them from behind rocks and trees, and obliged them to disperse. Lord Percy carried an ad-



vance work on his side; and lieutenant colonel Sterling forced his way up a steep ascent, and took one hundred and seventy prisoners. Their outworks being carried, the Americans left their lines and crowded into the fort. Colonel Rahl, who led the right column of Knyphausen's attack, pushed forwards, and lodged his column within a hundred yards of the fort, and was there soon joined by the left column. The garrison surrendered on terms of capitulation, by which the men were to be considered as prisoners of war, and the officers to keep their baggage and side arms. The number of prisoners amounted to two thousand seven hundred. The loss of the British was considerable.

Shortly after the surrender of fort Washington, fort Lee, situate on the opposite shore of the North river, was evacuated by the Americans at the approach of lord Cornwallis; and at the expense of their artillery and stores.

Fort Lee being evacuated by the Americans, the Jerseys lay wholly open to the incursions of the British troops, and was so entirely taken possession of by the royal army, that their winter quarters extended from New Brunswick to the river Delaware. Had any number of boats been at hand, it was thought Philadelphia would have fallen into their hands. All these had been carefully removed by the Americans. Instead of this enterprise, Sir Henry Clinton undertook an expedition to Rhode-Island, and became master of it without losing a man. His expedition was attended with this further advantage, that the American fleet, under commodore Hopkins, was obliged to sail so far up Providence river, that it was entirely useless. The same ill success attended the Americans in other parts. After their expulsion from Canada, they had crossed lake Champlain, and taken up their quarters at Crown Point, as we have already mentioned. Here they remained for some time in safety, as the British had no vessels on the lake; and consequently general Burgoyne could not pursue them.

To remedy this deficiency, there was no other method, but to construct vessels on the spot, or take to pieces some vessels already constructed, and drag them up the river into the lake. This, however, was effected in the space of three months; and the British general, after incredible toil and difficulty, saw himself in possession of a great number of vessels: by which means, he was enabled to pursue his enemies, and invade them in his turn. The labour undergone at this time, by the sea and land forces, must indeed have been prodigious; since they were conveyed over land, and dragged up the rapids of St. Lawrence, no fewer than thirty large long boats, four hundred batteaux, besides a vast number of flat-bottomed boats, and a gondola of thirty tons. The intent of the expedition was to push forward, before winter, to Albany, where the army would take up its winter quarters; and the next

spring effect a junction with that under general Howe; when it was not doubted, that the united force and skill of the two commanders, would speedily put an end to the war.

It was the beginning of October, before the expedition could be undertaken; it was then allowed to be completely able to answer the purpose for which it was intended.

The fleet consisted of one large vessel of three masts, carrying 18 twelve pounders; two schooners, the one carrying 14, the other 12 six pounders; a large flat-bottomed radeau, with 6 twenty-four, and 6 twelve pounders; and a gondola with 8 nine pounders; besides these, there were twenty vessels of a smaller size; also gun-boats, carrying each a piece of brass ordnance, from nine, to twenty-four pounders, or howitzers. Several long-boats were fitted out in the same manner, and a vast number of boats and tenders of various sizes to be used as transports for the troops and baggage. It was manned by a number of select seamen; and the gun-boats were served by a detachment from the corps of artillery. The officers and soldiers appointed for this expedition, were also chosen out of the whole army.

The American force was too inconsiderable to withstand this formidable armament; general Arnold, who commanded it, after engaging the British fleet for a whole day, took advantage of the darkness of the night to set sail without being perceived, and was next morning out of sight: but he was so quickly pursued by the British, that on the second day after, he was overtaken and forced to a second engagement. And notwithstanding his gallant behaviour, he was obliged to run his ships ashore, and set them on fire. A few only escaped to lake George; and the garrison of Crown Point having destroyed or carried off every thing of value, retired to Ticonderoga.

Thither general Carleton intended to have pursued them; but the difficulties he had to encounter were so many, and so great, that it was thought proper to march back into Canada, and desist from any further operations until the next spring.

The American affairs now seemed every where going to wreck; even those who had been most sanguine in her cause, began to despair. The time also for which the soldiers had enlisted, was now expired; and the bad success of the preceding campaign had been so very discouraging, that no person was willing to engage himself during the continuance of the war, of which the event appeared so doubtful. General Washington had the mortifying evidence of the daily decrease of his army; so that from thirty thousand, of which it consisted when general Howe landed on Staten island, scarce a tenth part could be mustered. General Lee had collected a body of troops to assist the commander in chief, but having imprudently taken up his lodgings at a distance from the troops, information was given to colonel Harcourt, who happened at the time to be in the neighbourhood, and who took him prisoner.

The loss of this general was much regretted, the more especially as he was of superior quality to any prisoner in possession of the colonists, and could not therefore be exchanged. Six field officers were offered in exchange for him, and refused; and congress was highly irritated at its being reported that he was to be treated as a deserter, having been a half-pay officer in the British service at the commencement of the war. They therefore issued a proclamation, threatening to retaliate on the prisoners in their possession, whatever punishment should be inflicted on any of those taken by the British; and especially that their conduct should be regulated by their treatment of general Lee.

Congress now proceeded with the utmost diligence to recruit their army; and bound their soldiers to serve for the term of three years, or during the continuance of the war. The army for the ensuing campaign, was to consist of eighty eight battalions, of which each province was to contribute its quota; and twenty dollars was offered as a bounty to each soldier, besides an allotment of lands at the end of the war. In this agreement it was stipulated, that each soldier should have one hundred acres, an ensign one hundred and fifty, a lieutenant two hundred, a captain three hundred, a major four hundred, a lieutenant-colonel four hundred and fifty, and a colonel five hundred. Those who only enlisted for three years were not entitled to any lands. Those who were wounded in the service, both officers and soldiers, were to enjoy half-pay during life. To meet this expense, congress borrowed five millions of dollars at five per cent, for which the United States was security.

At the same time a declaration was published tending to animate the people to vigorous exertions, in which they set forth the necessity there was of taking proper methods for securing success. They endeavoured to palliate as much as possible, the misfortunes which had already happened; and represented the true cause of the present distress to be the short term of enlistment.

This declaration, and the imminent danger of Philadelphia, roused the Americans to exert themselves to the utmost, to obtain reinforcements for general Washington's army. An exploit of that general, however, did more to animate the Americans in the cause than all the declarations of congress. As the royal army extended in different cantonments for a great way, general Washington saw the necessity of making an attempt on some of those divisions which lay nearest to Philadelphia. These happened to be the Hessians, who lay in three divisions, the last only twenty miles from that city. On the twenty-fifth of December, having collected as considerable a force as he could, he set out with an intent to surprise that body of the enemy which lay at Trenton.



His army was divided into three bodies; one of which he ordered to cross the Delaware at Trenton ferry, a little below the town; the second at a distance below, at a place called Bordentown, where the second division of Hessians was placed; while he himself with the third, directed his course to a ferry some miles above Trenton, which he intended to have passed at midnight, and make the attack at break of day; but various impediments so far obstructed his plans, that it was eight in the morning before he reached the place of his destination. The enemy, however, did not perceive his approach till they were suddenly attacked. Colonel Rahl, their commander, did all that could be expected from a brave and experienced officer; but every thing was in such confusion, that no efforts of valour or skill could now retrieve matters. The colonel himself was mortally wounded, his troops were entirely broken, their artillery seized, and about one thousand taken prisoners. After this gallant exploit, general Washington returned into Pennsylvania.

This action, though to appearance of no very decisive nature, was what turned the fortune of war in favour of America. It lessened the apprehensions which the Americans had of the Hessians, at the same time that it equally abated the confidence which the British had till now put in them; it also raised the desponding hopes of the Americans, and gave a new spring to all their operations. Reinforcements now came in from all quarters, and general Washington soon found himself in a condition once more to repass the Delaware, and take up his quarters in Trenton, where he was emboldened to take his station, notwithstanding that accounts were received of the enemy's rapid advance towards him under lord Cornwallis, who shortly after made his appearance in full force; and on the evening of his arrival, the little town of Trenton contained the two hostile armies, separated only by a small creek, which was fordable in many places.

This was indeed the crisis of the American revolution; and had his lordship made an immediate attack, in pursuance of what is reported to have been the advice of Sir William Erskin, general Washington's defeat would have been inevitable; but a night's delay turned the fortune of the war, and produced an enterprise, the magnitude and glory of which, can only be equalled by its success.

A council of war having been called, general Washington stated the calamitous situation to which his army was reduced, and after hearing the various opinions of his officers, finally proposed a circuitous march to Princeton, as the means of avoiding at once, the imputation of a retreat and the danger of a battle, with forces so inferior and in a situation so ineligible. The idea was unanimously approved, and as soon as it was dark, the necessary measures were effected for accomplishing it. A line of fires were kindled,

which served to give light to the Americans, while it obscured them from the observation of the enemy; the weather, which had been for some time warm and foggy, suddenly changed to a hard frost; and rendered the road, which had been deep and heavy, smooth and firm as a pavement. The Americans considered this as a providential interposition in their favour.

At break of day general Washington was discovered by a party of British troops, consisting of three regiments, under the command of colonel Mawhood, near Princeton, on their march to Trenton. With these the centre of the Americans engaged, and after killing sixty, wounded many, and taking three hundred prisoners, obliged the rest to make a precipitate retreat; some towards Trenton, and others to Brunswick. The loss of the Americans, as to number, was inconsiderable, but the fall of general Mercer was sensibly felt.

The British, astonished and discouraged at the success and spirit of these repeated enterprises, abandoned both Trenton and Princeton, and retreated to Brunswick; while the Americans in triumph retired to Morristown. General Washington, however, omitted no opportunity in recovering what had been lost; and by dividing his army into small parties, which could be called into general action at a few hours notice, he in a manner almost entirely covered the country with it, and took possession of the most important places.

Thus ended the campaign of 1776, with no other real advantage to the British, than the possession of New York. and a few fortresses in the neighbourhood, where the troops were constrained to act with as much circumspection as if they had been besieged by a victorious army, instead of being themselves the conquerors.

The British, in New York, began in 1777 to carry on a kind of predatory war, by sending out parties to destroy magazines, make incursions, and take or destroy such forts as lay on the banks of rivers accessible to their shipping; in this they were generally successful; the provincial magazines at Peek's kill, a place about fifty miles distant from New York, were destroyed; the town of Danbury in Connecticut was burnt, and that of Ridgefield in the same province was taken possession of. The British, however, as they were returning from this last expedition, were harrassed by generals Arnold, Wooster, and Sullivan; but they made good their retreat, in spite of all opposition, with the loss of only seventy killed and wounded. On the American side the loss was much greater: general Wooster was killed, and Arnold was in the most imminent danger. On the other hand, the Americans destroyed the stores at Sagg harbour, in the east end of Long Island, and made prisoners of all who defended the place.

As this method of making war answered no essential purpose, it was resolved to make an attempt on Philadelphia. It was first

proposed to pass through the Jerseys to that city ; but the impolitic conduct of the British in countenancing the devastation of their plundering parties, had created universal abhorrence, and the large reinforcements which had joined general Washington, who had posted himself so strongly, that it was concluded to be impracticable. Many stratagems were used to draw him from his secure situation, but without success ; it was therefore determined to make the attempt by sea.

While the preparations were going forward for this enterprise, the Americans found means to capture general Prescott and one of his aids, who were seized in their quarters much in the same manner as general Lee had been.

The month of July was far advanced before the preparations for the expedition against Philadelphia were completed, and it was the twenty-third before the fleet was able to sail from Sandy Hook. The force employed in this expedition consisted of thirty-six battalions of British and Hessians, a regiment of light-horse, and a body of loyalists raised at New York. The remainder of the forces, consisting of seventeen battalions and another body of light horse, were stationed at New York, under Sir Henry Clinton ; and seven battalions were stationed at Rhode Island.

After sailing about a week, they arrived at the mouth of the Delaware ; but there having received certain intelligence that the navigation of the river was so obstructed that it would be impossible to force a passage, it was resolved to proceed further southward to Chesapeake bay, from whence the distance of Philadelphia was not very great, and where the provincial army would find less advantage from the nature of the country, than in the Jerseys.

The navigation from the Delaware to the Chesapeake took up the best part of the month of August, and that up the bay was difficult and tedious. At last, having sailed up the river Elk as far as possible, the troops were landed without opposition, and moved forwards towards Philadelphia.

On the news of their arrival in the Chesapeake, general Washington left the Jerseys, and fled to the relief of the city ; and, in the beginning of September, met the royal army at Brandywine creek, about mid-way between the head of Elk and Philadelphia. General Washington practised his former method of skirmishing with and harrassing the army on its march. But as this was found insufficient to stop its course, he retired to that side of the creek next to Philadelphia, with an intent to dispute the passage. A general engagement commenced on the eleventh of September, in which the Americans were defeated ; and, perhaps, the night saved them from total destruction. The Provincials lost, in this engagement, about one thousand in killed and wounded, besides four hundred taken prisoners.



The loss of this battle proved the loss of Philadelphia. General Washington retired towards Lancaster, an inland town, about sixty miles from Philadelphia. But though he could not prevent the loss of Philadelphia, he still adhered to his original plan of distressing the royal party, by laying ambushes and cutting off detached parties; but in this he was not so successful as formerly; and one of his own detachments, which lay in ambush in the woods were themselves surprised, and entirely defeated, with the loss of three hundred killed and wounded; besides seventy or eighty taken prisoners, and all their arms and baggage.

General Howe finding that the Americans would not venture another battle, even for the sake of their capital, took peaceable possession of it on the twenty-sixth of September. His first care was to cut off by strong batteries, the communication between the upper and lower parts of the river; which was executed, notwithstanding the opposition of some American armed vessels: one of which carrying thirty-six guns was taken. His next task was to open a communication with the sea; and this was a work of no small difficulty. A vast number of batteries and forts had been erected, and machines formed like *chevaux de frize* (from whence they took their name) had been sunk in the river to prevent its navigation.

As the fleet had been sent round to the Delaware in order to co-operate with the army, this work, however difficult, was effected; nor did the provincials give much opposition, well knowing that all places of the kind were now untenable. General Washington, however, took advantage of the royal army being divided, to attack the camp of the principal division of it, that lay at Germantown in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. In this he met with very little success; for though he reached the place of destination by three o'clock in the morning, the patrols had time to call the troops to arms. The Americans notwithstanding, made a very resolute attack; but were received with so much bravery, that they were compelled to abandon the attempt, and retreat in great disorder; with the advantage of carrying off their cannon, though pursued a considerable way, after having upwards of two hundred killed, five hundred wounded, and four hundred made prisoners: among whom were fifty-four officers. On the side of the British the loss amounted to four hundred and thirty wounded and prisoners; and seventy killed; among the last, were general Agnew and colonel Bird, with some other excellent officers.

There still remained two strong forts to be reduced on the Delaware. These were Mud Island and Red Bank. The various obstructions which the Americans had thrown in the way, rendered it necessary to bring up the *Augusta*, a ship of the line, and the *Merlin* frigate, to the attack of Mud Island; but during the heat of the action, both were grounded. The Americans observ-

ing this, sent down four fire ships, and directed the whole fire from their gallies against them; but the courage and skill of the British seamen, prevented the former from taking effect. But during the engagement both the *Augusta* and *Merlin* took fire, and were burnt; and the other ships were obliged to withdraw.

The Americans encouraged by this, proceeded to throw new obstructions in the way, but the British general having found means to convey a number of cannon, and to erect batteries within gun-shot of the fort by land, and having brought up three ships of the line mounted with heavy cannon, and the *Vigilant*, a large ship cut down so as to draw but little water, mounted with 24 pounders, made her way to a position from which she might enfilade the works on Mud Island. This gave the British such an advantage, that the post was no longer tenable.

Colonel Smith, who had with great gallantry defended the fort from the latter end of September, to the eleventh of November, being wounded, was removed to the main; within five days after his removal, major Thayer, nobly offered to take charge of this dangerous post; but was obliged to evacuate it within twenty-five days. But this event did not take place until the works were entirely beat down, every piece of cannon dismounted, and one of the British ships so near, that she threw hand-grenadoes into the fort and killed the men who were uncovered on the platform. The troops who had so bravely defended fort Mifflin, (which was the name given to it) made a safe retreat to Red Bank. Within three days after Mud Island was evacuated, the garrison was also withdrawn from Red Bank on the approach of lord Cornwallis. A great number of the American shipping, now entirely without protection, sailed up the river in the night time. Seventeen, however, remained, whose retreat was intercepted, by a frigate and some armed vessels; on which the Americans ran them on shore and burnt them.

Thus the campaign of 1777, in Pennsylvania, concluded successfully on the part of the British. In the North, however, matters wore a different aspect. The expedition in that quarter had been projected by the British ministry, as the most effectual method that could be taken to subjugate the colonies at once. The New England provinces were still considered by the British, as the most active in the continuation of the war; and it was thought, that any impression made upon them, would contribute in an effectual manner, to the reduction of the rest.

To carry this into execution, an army of four thousand chosen British troops, and three thousand Germans, were put under the command of general Burgoyne; and general Carleton was directed to use his interest with the Indians, to persuade them to join in this expedition; and the province of Quebec was to furnish large parties to join the same. The officers who commanded

under general Burgoyne, were general Phillips, of the artillery, generals Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton, with the German officers, Reidesel and Specht.

These soldiers were under excellent discipline, and had been kept in their winter quarters with great care, that they might be prepared for the expedition, on which they were going. To ensure the success of the main expedition, another was formed on the Mohawk river, under colonel St. Leger, who was to be assisted by Sir William Johnson, who had so greatly signalized himself, in the war of 1755. On the 21st of June, 1777, the British army encamped on the western side of lake Champlain; where being joined by a considerable body of Indians, general Burgoyne made a speech, in which he exhorted these new allies to lay aside their ferocious and barbarous manner of making war; to kill only such as opposed them in arms; and to spare prisoners, and such women and children, as should fall into their hands. He afterwards issued a proclamation, in which the force of Britain, and that which he commanded, was displayed in strong and nervous language, calculated to intimidate the provincials, but it had a contrary effect.

The campaign opened with the siege of Ticonderoga. This place was very strong, and garrisoned by six thousand men under general St. Clair; nevertheless, the works were so extensive, that even this number was not thought sufficient to defend them properly. They had therefore omitted to fortify a rugged eminence, called Sugar-hill, which overlooked and effectually commanded the whole works. The Americans vainly imagined, that it was too difficult an ascent, for the enemy to take possession of it; on the approach of the first division of the army, the provincials abandoned and set fire to their outworks, and so expeditious were the British troops, that on the fifth of July, every post was secured, which was judged necessary for investing it completely.

A road was soon after made to the very summit of that eminence which the Americans supposed could not be ascended; and they were now so much disheartened, that they instantly abandoned the fort and made a precipitate retreat to Skenesborough, a place to the south of lake George; while their baggage and military stores, which they could not carry off, were sent to the same place by water. But the British generals were not disposed to let them get off so easily: but pursued and overtook them. Their armed vessels consisted only of five galleys; two of which were taken and three blown up; on which they set fire to their boats and fortifications, at Skenesborough. The provincials lost two hundred boats, and one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, with all their provisions and baggage.



Their land forces under colonel Francis, made a brave defence against general Fraser : and as they were superior in number, they almost overpowered him, when general Reidesel, with a large body of Germans, came to his assistance. The Americans were now overpowered in their turn ; their commander killed, they fled in every direction. In this action two hundred of the provincials were killed, as many taken prisoners, and above six hundred wounded ; many of whom perished in the woods for want of assistance.

During the engagement, general St. Clair was at Castleton, about six miles from the place ; but instead of going forward to fort Ann, the next place of strength, he repaired to the woods which lie between that fortress and New England. General Burgoyne, therefore, detached colonel Hill, with the ninth regiment, to intercept their retreat towards fort Ann : on his way he met with a body of the enemy, said to be six times as numerous as his own ; but after an engagement of three hours, they were obliged to retire with great loss.

After so many disasters, and finding themselves unable to make any stand at fort Ann, they set fire to it, and retired to fort Edward. In all these engagements, the loss of the killed and wounded, in the royal army, did not exceed two hundred men. General Burgoyne now suspended his operations for some time ; and waited at Skenesborough for the arrival of his tents, provisions, &c. But employed this interval in making roads through the country about fort Ann, and in clearing a passage for his troops to proceed against the enemy. This was attended with incredible toil. But the resolution and patience of the army surmounted all obstacles.

Thus, after having undergone the greatest difficulties, and having made every exertion that man could make, he arrived with his army before fort Edward about the latter end of July. Here general Schuyler had been for some time endeavouring to recruit the scattered American forces, and had been joined by general St. Clair, with the remains of his army ; the garrison of fort George had also taken shelter there. But on the approach of the royal army they retired from fort Edward, and formed their head quarters at Saratoga.

Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, the Americans shewed no disposition to submit ; but prepared in the best manner they could to make the most effectual resistance. For this purpose the militia was every where raised and drafted, to join the army at Saratoga ; and such numbers of volunteers were obtained, that they soon began to recover from the alarm into which their late losses had thrown them.

The forces now collected were put under the command of general Arnold, who repaired to Saratoga with a considerable

train of artillery ; but receiving intelligence that colonel St. Leger was proceeding with great rapidity in his expedition on the Mohawk river, he removed to Stillwater, a place about half way between Saratoga and the junction of the Mohawk with Hudson's river.

The colonel, in the meantime, had advanced as far as fort Stanwix; the siege of which he pressed with great vigour; and understanding that a supply of provisions, guarded by eight or nine hundred men, was on its way to the fort, he despatched sir John Johnson with a strong detachment to intercept it. This he performed so effectually, that four hundred of the escort were slain and two hundred taken; the residue escaping with great difficulty. The garrison, it was expected, would be intimidated by this disaster, and by the threats and representations of St. Leger: on the contrary, they made several successful sallies under colonel Willet, the second officer in command; who, with another gentleman, ventured out of the fort, and eluding the vigilance of the enemy, passed through them, in order to hasten the march of general Arnold to their relief.

The affairs of colonel St. Leger, notwithstanding his recent success, appeared in no very favourable situation; and they were totally ruined by the desertion of the Indians; who had been alarmed by the report of general Arnold's advancing with two thousand men, to the relief of the fort; and while the colonel was endeavouring to encourage them, another report was spread that general Burgoyne had been defeated with great slaughter, and was flying before the provincials. On this he was obliged to comply with their fears and ordered a retreat; which was not effected without the loss of the tents, some artillery, and military stores.

Difficulties and disappointments still continued to press upon general Burgoyne: the roads he had made with so much labour and pains, were destroyed by the enemy, and wetness of the season; so that provisions from fort George could not be brought to his camp, without prodigious toil. Having been informed of the siege of fort Stanwix, by colonel St. Leger; he determined to move forward, that he might enclose the enemy betwixt his own army and that of St. Leger; and in hopes of securing the command of all the country between fort Stanwix and Albany. At any rate a junction with St. Leger, was likely to produce the most happy consequences. The only difficulty was, the want of provisions; and this it was proposed to remedy, by seizing the magazines of the provincials.

For this purpose, colonel Baum, a German officer of great bravery, was chosen with a body of five hundred troops. The magazines lay at Bennington, about twenty miles eastward of Hudson's river: in order to support colonel Baum's party, the whole army marched up the bank of the river, and encamped almost op-

posite to Saratoga, with the river between it and that place. An advanced party was posted at Batten-kill, between the camp and Bennington, in order to support colonel Baum. In their way the royal detachment seized a large supply of cattle and provisions, which were immediately sent to the camp; but the badness of the roads retarded their march so much, that intelligence of their design was sent to Bennington. Colonel Baum understanding that the American force at that place, was much superior to his own, acquainted the general; who immediately sent colonel Breyman, with a party to his assistance: but the same causes which retarded the march of colonel Baum, also impeded the march of colonel Breyman, who could not arrive in time. General Starke, in the meantime, who commanded at Bennington, determined to attack the two parties separately; and advanced against colonel Baum, whom he surrounded on all sides, and attacked with the utmost violence. The German troops defended themselves with great valour, but were to a man either killed or taken. Colonel Breyman, after a desperate engagement, had the good fortune to effect a retreat through the darkness of the night: which, otherwise, he could not have done, as his men had expended all their ammunition.

Disappointed in his attempt on Bennington, general Burgoyne applied himself with indefatigable diligence, to procure provisions from Fort George; and having at length procured a sufficient quantity to last for a month, he threw a bridge of boats over the river Hudson, which he crossed about the middle of September, encamping on the hills and plains of Saratoga.

As soon as he approached the provincial army, which was encamped at Still Water, under general Gates, he determined to make an attack; he placed himself at the head of the centre, having general Fraser and Colonel Breyman on his right, and generals Reidesel and Phillips, with the artillery on the left. In this position, the 19th of September, he advanced towards the enemy. But the Americans confident in their number, did not now wait to be engaged: but attacked the central division with great impetuosity, and it was not till general Phillips with the artillery came up, at eleven o'clock at night, that they could be induced to retire to their camp. In this action the British lost five hundred in killed and wounded, and the Americans three hundred and nineteen.

The resolution manifested by the Americans upon this occasion, surprised and alarmed the British forces. But this did not prevent them from advancing towards the enemy, and posting themselves within cannon shot of their lines the next day. But their Indian allies now began to desert in great numbers: and at the same time the general was exceedingly mortified by having no



intelligence from Sir Henry Clinton, who was to have assisted him as had been stipulated.

He now received a letter from him by which he was informed that Sir Henry intended to make a diversion on the North River in his favour. This afforded but little comfort; and he returned an answer by several trusty persons who took different routes, stating his distressed situation; at the same time informing him that his provisions and other necessaries would only enable him to hold out till the twelfth of October.

The Americans, in the meantime, that they might effectually cut off the retreat of the British, undertook an expedition to Ticonderoga; but failed in the attempt, notwithstanding they surprised all the out posts, and took a great number of boats, and some armed vessels, and a few prisoners.

The army under general Burgoyne, however, continued to labour under various distresses; his provisions fell short, so that in the beginning of October he diminished the soldiers' allowance. On the seventh of that month he determined to move towards the enemy: for this purpose he sent a body of one thousand five hundred men to reconnoitre their left wing; intending if possible, to break through it, and effect a retreat. The detachment had not proceeded far, when a dreadful attack was made by the Americans on the left wing of the British army, which was with great difficulty preserved from being entirely broken, by a reinforcement brought up by general Fraser, who was killed in the attack.

After the troops had with the most desperate efforts regained their camp, it was furiously assaulted by general Arnold; who, notwithstanding all opposition, would have forced the entrenchments, had he not received a dangerous wound, which obliged him to retire. Thus the attack failed, but on the right, the German reserve was forced, colonel Breyman killed, and his countrymen defeated with great slaughter, and with the loss of their artillery and baggage.

This was by far the greatest loss the British sustained since the battle of Bunker's hill: the list of the killed and wounded amounted to near twelve hundred, exclusive of the Germans: but the greatest misfortune was, that the Americans had now an opening on the right, and rear of the British forces, so that the army was threatened with entire destruction. This obliged general Burgoyne once more to shift his position, that the enemy might also be obliged to alter theirs. This was accomplished on the night of the seventh without any loss, and all the next day he continued to offer the enemy battle. The enemy now advanced on the right that they might enclose him entirely, which obliged general Burgoyne to direct a retreat to Saratoga. But the Americans had stationed a strong force at the ford on Hudson's river, so that the only possibility of retreat was by securing a passage to Lake

George; and to effect this, workmen were despatched with a strong guard, to repair the roads and bridges that led to Fort Edward. As soon as they were gone, the enemy seemed to prepare for an attack; which rendered it necessary to recall the guard, and the workmen being left exposed, could not proceed.

The boats which conveyed provisions down the Hudson river, were exposed to the continual fire of the American marksmen, who captured many; so that it became necessary to convey them over land. General Burgoyne finding it impossible to stay here, with any safety to his army, resolved to attempt a march to Fort Edward in the night, and force the passages at the fords either above or below. That he might effect this the more easily, it was resolved that the soldiers should carry their provisions on their backs, and leave behind them their baggage and every other incumbrance. But intelligence being received that the enemy had raised strong entrenchments opposite the fords, well provided with cannon, and that they had also taken possession of the rising ground between Fort George and Fort Edward, it was judged impossible to succeed in the attempt.

The American army was still increasing in numbers: and reinforcements flocked in from all quarters, elated with the certain prospect of capturing the whole British army. Small parties extended all along the opposite bank of Hudson's river, and some had passed it, that they might the more exactly observe every movement of the enemy. The forces under general Gates were computed at sixteen thousand men, while the army under general Burgoyne amounted to six thousand.

Every part of the British camp was reached by the rifle and grape shot of the Americans. In this state of extreme distress and imminent danger, the army continued with the greatest constancy and perseverance, till the evening of the thirteenth of October, when an inventory of provisions being taken, it was found that no more remained than was sufficient to last three days; a council of war being called, it was unanimously determined that there was no other alternative but to treat with the enemy. In consequence of this, a negotiation was opened the next day, which terminated in a capitulation of the whole British army; the principal article of which was, "That the troops were to have a free passage to Britain, on condition of not serving against America during the war." On this occasion General Gates generously ordered his army to keep within their camp, while the British soldiers went to a place appointed to lay down their arms, that the latter might not have the additional mortification of being made spectacles on so melancholy an event.

The number of those who surrendered at Saratoga, amounted to five thousand seven hundred and fifty. According to the American accounts, the list of sick and wounded left in the camp when

the army retreated to Saratoga, amounted to five hundred and twenty-eight, and the number of those by other accounts, since the taking of Ticonderoga, to near three thousand. Thirty-five brass field-pieces, seven thousand stand of arms, clothing for an equal number of soldiers, with tents, military chests, &c. constituted the booty on this occasion.

Sir Henry Clinton in the meantime, instead of taking effectual measures for the immediate relief of general Burgoyne, of whose situation he had been informed, amused himself with destroying the two forts called Montgomery and Clinton, with fort Constitution, and another place called Continental Village, where there were barracks for two thousand men; he also carried away seventy large cannon, a number of smaller ones, and a quantity of stores and ammunition. Another attack was made by Sir James Wallace with some frigates, and a body of land forces, under general Vaughan, upon Esopus, a small flourishing town on the river. But these successes only tended to irritate the Americans, and injure the royal cause.

On the sixteenth of March, 1778, lord North informed the house of commons, that a paper had been laid before the king by the French ambassador, intimating the conclusion of an alliance between the court of France, and the United States of America. It was on the sixth of February, 1778, that the articles were formally signed, to the great satisfaction of France; by which it was hoped that the pride of her formidable rival would be humbled, and her power lessened. For this purpose and her own aggrandizement, did France enter into an alliance with the revolted subjects of Great Britain; but not till after the capture of Burgoyne's army, when the Americans had made it manifest, that they were able to defend themselves, without the interference of any foreign power. How far that interference has been beneficial to France, the dreadful features of her own revolution must decide; and to which the American revolution, undoubtedly gave birth. The articles were in substance, as follow.

1. If Great Britain should, in consequence of this treaty, proceed to hostilities against France, the two nations should mutually assist one another.

2. The main end of the treaty was, in an effectual manner to maintain the independency of America.

3. Should those places in North America, still subject to Great Britain, be reduced by the colonies, they should be confederated with them, or subjected to their jurisdiction.

4. Should any of the West India islands, be reduced by France they should be deemed its property.

5. No formal treaty with Great Britain should be concluded, either by France or America, without the consent of each other; and it was mutually engaged, that they should not lay down their



arms, till the independency of the Statès had been formally acknowledged.

6. The contracting parties mutually agreed to invite those powers who had received injuries from Great Britain, to join the common cause.

7. The United States guaranteed to France all the possessions in the West Indies, which she should conquer; and France guaranteed the absolute Independence of the United States, and their supreme authority over every country they possessed, or might acquire during the war.

The house of commons looked upon this treaty as a declaration of war; and the members were unanimous in an address to his majesty, promising to stand by him to the utmost, in the present emergency; but it was warmly contended by the members of the opposition, that the present ministry should be removed, on account of their numerous blunders and miscarriages in every instance. Many were of opinion, that the only way to extricate the nation from its trouble, was to acknowledge at once, the independency of America, that so they might do with a good grace, what they would inevitably have to do at last. Instigated with zeal for the national honour, the ministerial party was determined to resent the arrogance of France, and prosecute the war in America, with increased vigour, should the terms about to be offered them be rejected.

The agents of the Americans, in the meantime, were assiduously employed at the court of Spain, Vienna, Prussia, and Tuscany, in order if possible, to conclude alliances with them; or, at least, to procure an acknowledgement of their independency. As it had been reported, that Great Britain had applied for assistance to Russia, the American commissioners were enjoined to use their utmost endeavours with the German princes, to prevent such auxiliaries from marching through their territories; and also to prevail with them to recall the German troops already sent to America.

To the Spanish court they proposed, that in case they should think proper to espouse their cause, the American States should assist in reducing Pensacola under the dominion of Spain; provided the citizens of the United States were allowed the free navigation of the river Mississippi, and the use of the harbour of Pensacola: and they further offered, that if agreeable to Spain, they would declare war against Portugal, should that power expel the American ships from their ports.

The troops under general Burgoyne in the meantime, were preparing to embark, agreeably to the convention of Saratoga, but Congress having received information that articles of ammunition and accoutrements, had not been surrendered as stipulated; and alledging also, some other cause, as that they apprehended siris-

ter designs were harboured by Great Britain, to convey these troops to join the army at Philadelphia, or New York, positively refused to let them embark without an explicit ratification of the convention, properly notified by the British court.

The season for action approaching, Congress was indefatigable in making preparations for a new campaign; which, it was confidently affirmed, would be the last. General Washington, at the same time, to remove all necessary incumbrances from the army, lightened the baggage as much as possible, by substituting sacks and portmanteaus, in place of chests and boxes; and using pack horses instead of wagons. The British army on the other hand expecting to be reinforced by twenty thousand men, thought of nothing but concluding the war according to their wishes, before the end of another campaign.

Lord North's conciliatory bill, therefore, was received by them, with the utmost concern and indignation: they considered it as a national disgrace; and some even tore the cockades from their hats and trampled them under their feet. By the colonists it was received with indifference. The British commissioners endeavoured to make it as public as possible; and congress, as usual, ordered it to be printed in all the newspapers. Governor Tryon inclosed several copies of the bill in a letter to general Washington, intreating him, that he would allow them to be circulated; to which the general returned for answer, a newspaper, in which the bill was printed, with the resolutions of congress upon it, which were, that whosoever presumed to make a separate agreement with Great Britain, should be deemed a public enemy; that the United States could not, with any propriety, keep correspondence with the commissioners, until their independence was acknowledged, and the British fleets and armies removed from America.

The colonies were also warned not to suffer themselves to be deceived into security by any offers that might be made; but to use their utmost endeavours to send their quotas into the field. Some individuals, who conversed with the commissioners on the subject of the conciliatory bill, intimated to them that the day of reconciliation was past: that the haughtiness of Britain had extinguished all filial regard in the breast of the Americans.

Silas Deane about this time arrived from France with two copies of the treaty of commerce and alliance, to be signed by congress. Advices of the most flattering nature were received from various parts, representing the friendly dispositions of the European powers; all of whom, it was said, wished to see the independence of America settled upon the most permanent basis.

Considering, therefore, the situation of the colonies at this time, it was no wonder that the commissioners did not succeed. Their proposals were utterly rejected, and themselves threatened to be

treated as spies. But before any answer could be obtained from Congress, Sir Henry Clinton had taken the resolution of evacuating Philadelphia. Accordingly, on the eighteenth of June, after having made the necessary preparations, the army marched out of the city, and crossed the Delaware before noon, with all its baggage, and other incumbrances. General Washington, apprised of this design, had despatched expresses into the Jerseys, with orders to collect all the force that could be assembled, in order to obstruct the march of the enemy. After various movements on both sides, Sir Henry Clinton, with the royal army, arrived at a place called Freehold, on the twenty-seventh of June, where, expecting the enemy would attack him, he chose a strong situation. General Washington, as was expected, meditated an attack as soon as the army began to march. The night was spent in making the necessary preparations, and general Lee was ordered with his division to be ready at day break. Sir Henry Clinton, justly apprehending that the chief object of the enemy was the baggage, committed it to the care of general Knyphausen, whom he ordered to set out early in the morning, while he followed with the rest of the army. The attack was made, but the British general had taken such care to arrange his troops, and so effectually supported his forces when engaged with the Americans, that they not only made no impression, but were with difficulty preserved from a total defeat, by general Washington, who advanced with the whole of the American army.

The British troops retreated in the night, with the loss of three hundred men, of whom many died through fatigue (the weather being extremely hot.) not a wound being seen upon them. In this action, general Lee was charged by general Washington with disobedience and misconduct, in retreating before the British army. He was tried by a court martial, and sentenced to a suspension from his command for one year. When the British army had arrived at Sandy Hook, a bridge of boats was, by lord Howe's directions, thrown from thence over the channel which separated the island from the main land, and the troops were conveyed on board the fleet; after which they sailed to New York. General Washington then moved towards the North River; where a great force had been collected to join him, and where it was now expected that operations of great magnitude would take place.

France, in the meantime, was preparing to assist the Americans. On the fourteenth of April, 1778, count D'Estaing had sailed from Toulon, with a strong squadron of ships of the line, and frigates; he arrived on the coast of Virginia in the beginning of July, whilst the British fleet was employed in conveying the forces from Sandy Hook to new York. The French fleet consisted of one ship of 120 guns, one of 80, six of 74, and four of 64, besides several large frigates; and exclusive of its comple-



ment of sailors, it had six thousand marines and soldiers on board. To oppose this, the British had only six ships of 64 guns, three of 50, and two of 40, with some frigates and sloops. Notwithstanding this inferiority, the British admiral had posted himself so advantageously, and displayed such superior skill, that D'Estaing did not think it adviseable to attack him: he was also informed by the pilots, that his large vessels could not go over the bar into the hook. In the meantime, general Washington pressed him to sail to Newport. He, therefore, remained at anchor four miles off Sandyhook, till the twenty-second of July, without effecting any thing more than the capture of some vessels; which, through ignorance of his arrival, fell into his hands.

The next attempt of the French admiral, in conjunction with the Americans, was against Rhode Island. It was proposed that D'Estaing, with the six thousand troops he had with him, should make a descent on the southern part of the island, while the Americans took possession of the north; at the same time, the French squadron was to enter the harbour of Newport, and take and destroy all the British shipping there. On the eighth of August, the French admiral entered the harbour, as was proposed, but was unable to do any material damage. Lord Howe, however, instantly set sail for Rhode Island, and D'Estaing, confiding in his superiority, immediately came out of the harbour to attack him. A violent storm parted the two fleets, and did so much damage, that they were rendered totally unfit for action. The French suffered the most, and several of their ships being afterwards attacked by the English, very narrowly escaped being taken. On the twentieth of August, the French admiral returned to Newport in a shattered condition; but not thinking himself safe there, sailed two days after for Boston.

In the meantime, general Sullivan had landed on the northern part of the island, with ten thousand men. On the seventeenth of August, they began their operations, by erecting batteries, and making their approaches to the British lines. General Pigot, however, had so secured himself on the land side, that the Americans could not attack him with any probability of success, without the assistance of a marine force. D'Estaing's conduct, in abandoning them, when he was master of the harbour, gave great disgust to the Americans, and Sullivan began to prepare for a retreat. On perceiving his intentions, the garrison sallied out upon him with such vigour, that it was with great difficulty he effected it. He had not been long gone, when Sir Henry Clinton arrived with a reinforcement of four thousand men. The Americans thus having left the island, the British undertook an expedition to Buzzard's bay, on the coast of New England, and in the neighbourhood of Rhode Island, where they destroyed a great number of privateers and merchantment, magazines, and stores.

houses, &c. They proceeded next to Martha's vineyard, from whence they carried off ten thousand sheep and three hundred black cattle.

Another expedition under the command of lord Cornwallis and general Knyphausen, went up the North river; the principal object of which was the destruction of a regiment of cavalry, called Washington's light-horse.

A third expedition was directed to Little Egg harbour, in New Jersey, a place noted for privateers; it was conducted by captains Ferguson and Collins, who completely destroyed the enemy's vessels. At the same time, a body of American troops, called Pulaski's legion, were surprised, and a great number cut off.

The conquest of West Florida in the beginning of the year, was projected by some Americans under the command of captain Willing, who had made a successful excursion into the country. This roused the attention of the British to the southern colonies, and an expedition against them was resolved on. Georgia was the place of destination, and the more effectually to ensure success, colonel Campbell, with a sufficient force, under convoy of some ships of war, commanded by commodore Parker, embarked at New York, while general Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, was directed to set out with all the force he could spare.

The armament arrived off the coast of Georgia in the month of December, 1778, and though the Americans were very strongly posted in a very advantageous situation on the shore, the British troops made good their landing, and advanced towards Savannah, the capital of the province. The same day they defeated the American forces which opposed them, and entered the town of Savannah with such celerity, that the enemy had not time to burn the town, as they had intended. In ten days the whole province was subdued, except Sunbury; and this was also obliged to submit to general Prevost in his march southward.

To secure the tranquillity of the province was now the main object of the British. Rewards were offered for apprehending committee and assembly men, and such as had taken a decided part against the British government. On the arrival of general Prevost, the command of the troops devolved on him as the senior officer; and the conquest of Carolina was next projected. In this attempt they were encouraged by many of the loyal inhabitants who had joined them; and there was not in the province any considerable body of the enemy capable to oppose regular and well disciplined troops.

On the first news of general Prevost's approach, the loyalists assembled in a body, imagining themselves able to maintain their station until their allies should arrive; but they were disappointed. The Americans attacked and defeated them with the loss of half

their number. The remainder retreated into Georgia, and with difficulty effected a junction with the British forces. General Lincoln, in the meantime, encamped within twenty miles of the town of Savannah, and another strong party of the provincials posted themselves at Briar Creek, which circumscribed the British government within very narrow bounds.

General Prevost, therefore, determined to dislodge the enemy at Briar Creek; and the provincials, trusting to their strong situation, were remiss in their guard, by which neglect, they were unexpectedly surprised on the thirtieth of March, 1779, and totally routed, with the loss of three hundred killed and taken prisoners, besides a great number drowned in the river: all the artillery, stores, baggage, and almost all the arms of this party were taken, so that they were incapable of making any further opposition to the British in that quarter.

Thus the province of Georgia was once more under the control of the British, and a communication was opened with Carolina. The victory at Briar Creek paved the way for the loyalists to join the British army, who considerably increased its force. General Prevost was now enabled to extend his posts further up the river and to guard all the principal passes: so that general Lincoln was reduced to a state of inaction: and at last moved off to Augusta, that he might protect the assembly, which sat at that place; the capital being now in possession of the British.

The British general now began to put in execution the grand scheme which had been meditated against Carolina. Notwithstanding many difficulties lay in the way, the constancy and perseverance of the British forces prevailed. General Moultrie, who was stationed with a body of troops to oppose their passage, was obliged to give way, and retreat towards Charleston; and the British army, after encountering many difficulties through a marshy country, at length arrived in an open champaign, through which they passed with great rapidity, towards the capital; while general Lincoln marched to its relief.

The danger to which Charleston was exposed, animated the American general. A chosen body of American infantry was mounted on horses, for the greater expedition, and were despatched before him; while he himself followed with all the forces he could collect. General Moultrie too with the troops he had brought from Savannah, and some others he had collected since his retreat from thence, had taken possession of all the avenues leading to Charleston, and prepared for a vigorous defence. But all opposition was vain and ineffectual, the British army approached within cannon shot of Charleston, on the twelfth of May, 1779.

The town was now summoned to surrender, and the inhabitants would gladly have agreed to observe a neutrality during the rest of the war, and would also have engaged for the province.



But these terms not being accepted, they prepared for a vigorous defence. It was not in the power of the British commander, however, to succeed at this time in an attack; his artillery was not of sufficient weight, he had no ships to support him, and he knew that general Lincoln was advancing with a superior force; and that he would be liable to be inclosed between his forces and those in the town. So that certain destruction awaited him upon the failure of his first attempt upon the town. He, therefore, prudently resolved to withdraw his forces: and took possession of two islands, called St. James's and St. John's, lying to the southward; where, in a short time, his force was augmented by the arrival of two frigates; with these he determined to make himself master of Port Royal, another island possessed of a good harbour, and many other natural advantages, commanding all the sea coast from Charleston to Savannah river. This, however, he could not accomplish without opposition from the American general, who attempted to dislodge him from his post on St. John's island; but after an obstinate and unsuccessful attempt, was obliged to retire with considerable loss.

The principal occasion of the success of the British was an armed float which galled the right flank of the Americans so effectually, that they could direct their efforts only against the strongest part of the lines, which was impregnable to their attacks. This disappointment was followed by the loss of Port Royal, which general Prevost took possession of, and stationed his troops in proper places waiting the arrival of such reinforcements as were expected for the intended attack upon Charleston.

Count D'Estaing, in the meantime, had put into Boston harbour to refit, and used his utmost efforts to gain the good will of the inhabitants. He also published a proclamation to be dispersed through Canada, inviting the people to return to their original friendship with France; declaring that all who renounced their allegiance to the king of Great Britain, should be protected by the king of France.

The Canadians, however, were too wise to relinquish a present good, to depend upon the unsubstantial promises of a courtier, whose means were inadequate to his professions, and whose chief aim was to divide and ruin the British interest in America.

The French admiral, as soon as his fleet was refitted, and while admiral Bryon's had been shattered by a storm, took that opportunity of sailing to the West Indies.... During his operations there, the Americans represented his conduct as totally unserviceable to them; upon which he received orders from Europe to assist the colonies with all possible speed. Agreeably to these orders, he directed his course towards Georgia, with the avowed design of recovering that province from the British, and to put it, as well as South Carolina, in such a state of defence, as would

secure them from any future attack. This, upon a superficial view, appeared easy to be effected, as he knew there was but a small force to oppose him.

The British fleet and army at New York was next to be destroyed, and their total expulsion from America was anticipated as an event at no great distance. Full of these towering hopes, the French admiral arrived off the coast of Georgia, with a fleet of twenty sail of the line and ten frigates.

His arrival was so unexpected, that several vessels laden with provisions fell into his hands. The *Experiment*, a fifty gun ship, commanded by Sir James Wallace, was taken, after a stout resistance. On the continent, the British troops were divided. General Prevost, with an inconsiderable party, was at Savannah; but the main force, under colonel Maitland, was at Port Royal.

On the first appearance of the French fleet, an express was sent off to colonel Maitland, but it was intercepted by the enemy; so that before he could get out to join the commander in chief, the Americans had secured the principal passes by land, while the French effectually blockaded the passage by sea. But by taking advantage of creeks and inlets, and marching over land, he arrived just in time to relieve Savannah.

D'Estaing had allowed general Prevost twenty-four hours to deliberate whether he should capitulate or not; this interval he made use of in making the best preparations in his power, and during this time colonel Maitland arrived. D'Estaing's summons was now rejected. The garrison consisted of three thousand men of approved valour and experience. The united force of the French and Americans was about ten thousand.

The event was answerable to the expectation of the British general: having the advantage of a strong fortification, and excellent engineers, the fire of the allies made but little impression; so that D'Estaing resolved to bombard the town, and a battery of nine mortars was erected for that purpose.

The allied commanders, from motives of policy, refused general Prevost's request to permit the women and children to retire to a place of safety, and they resolved to make a general assault. This was attempted on the ninth of October; but the assailants were every where repulsed with great slaughter; one thousand two hundred were killed and wounded; among the first was Count Pulaski, one of the conspirators against the king of Poland, and among the latter was D'Estaing himself.

This defeat entirely overthrew the sanguine hopes of the French and Americans; after waiting eight days longer, the allied forces retreated; the French to their shipping, and the Americans to Carolina. About this time Sir George Collier was sent with a fleet, having general Matthews and a body of land forces on board, to Virginia. The first attempt was against the town of

Portsmouth, where the British troops carried off twenty vessels, with an immense quantity of provisions, designed for general Washington's army, together with a variety of naval and military stores: at the same time and place were burnt one hundred and twenty vessels; after which the British returned to New York with little or no loss.

The successful issue of this expedition, encouraged them to undertake another. The Americans had erected two strong forts on the Hudson river, the one at Verplank's neck on the east, and the other at Stoney Point on the west side; these were likely to be of the utmost service to the Americans, as they commanded the principal pass, called King's ferry, between the northern and southern colonies. The force employed upon this occasion, was divided into two bodies, one of which was directed against Verplank's, under the command of general Vaughan, the latter by general Patterson, while the shipping was under the direction of Sir George Collier. General Vaughan met with no resistance; the enemy abandoned their works at his approach; but at Stoney point, a vigorous defence was made. The garrison, notwithstanding, was obliged to capitulate, but upon honourable conditions. General Clinton, desirous to secure the possession of this last, removed from his former situation, and encamped in such a manner, that general Washington could not give any assistance.

The Americans, however, revenged themselves of the British, by distressing the trade of New York, by their numerous privateers. These privateers were chiefly built and harboured in Connecticut; an expedition, therefore, under the command of governor Tryon and general Garth, an officer of known valour and experience, was undertaken, under a convoy of a considerable number of armed vessels; they landed at New Haven, where they destroyed the batteries that had been erected to oppose them, besides a number of shipping and naval stores; but as the inhabitants did not fire upon the troops from the houses the buildings in town were spared.

From New Haven they proceeded to Fairfield, which they reduced to ashes. Norwalk was next attacked and afterwards Greenfield, a small sea-port in the neighbourhood, both of which were burnt.

These successes were alarming, as well as detrimental to the Americans, so that general Washington was determined at all events, to drive the enemy from Stoney Point. For this purpose general Wayne was sent with a detachment of chosen men, with directions to take it by surprise. After the capture of it by the British, the fortifications had been completed and made very strong; notwithstanding, the Americans passed through a heavy fire of musquetry and grape shot, and in spite of all opposition obliged the surviving part of the garrison, consisting of five hundred men, to surrender themselves prisoners of war.



The Americans did not attempt to retain possession of Stoney Point, but their success in surprising it, encouraged them to make a similar attack on Paulus Hook, a post strongly fortified on the Jersey side, opposite to New York. After having completely surprised the posts, major Lee, the American commander, finding it impossible to retain them, made an orderly retreat with about one hundred and sixty-one prisoners, among whom were seven officers.

Another expedition, and of greater importance, was now undertaken by the Americans. This was against a post on the river Penobscot, on the borders of Nova Scotia, of which the British had taken possession, and where they had begun to erect a fort, which threatened to be very inconvenient to the Americans. The armament destined against it was so expeditiously fitted out, that colonel MacLane, the commanding officer at Penobscot, was obliged to content himself with putting the works already constructed in as good a posture of defence as possible. The Americans could not effect a landing, or bring the guns of the largest vessels to bear upon the shore, without much difficulty.

As soon as this was done, they erected several batteries, and kept up a brisk fire, for the space of a fortnight; after which they proposed to give a general assault: but before this could be effected, sir George Collier, with a British fleet, was seen sailing up the river to attack them. On this they instantly embarked their artillery and stores, sailing up the river as far as possible, to avoid being taken. But they were so closely pursued, that not a single vessel escaped; thus the American fleet, consisting of nineteen armed vessels and twenty-four transports, were destroyed. The soldiers and sailors were obliged to wander through immense deserts, where they suffered much for want of provisions; and to add to their calamities, a quarrel between the seamen and soldiers broke out, concerning the cause of their misfortunes; a violent affray ensued, in which a great number were killed.

Thus the arms of France and America being every where unsuccessful, the independency of the latter seemed yet to be in danger, notwithstanding the assistance of so powerful an ally.

The hopes of the Americans were again revived by the accession of Spain to the confederacy against Great Britain. The eager desire of Spain to humble Great Britain, appeared to have deprived her of that cautious reserve which seems interwoven with the constitution of the Spanish government. They certainly did not consider that, by establishing an independent empire so near them, their rich possessions in South America would be in danger, and open to the incursions of a powerful and enterprising people, whenever they chose to extend their territory.

The first act of hostility against Great Britain by the Spaniards, was an invasion of West Florida, in September, 1779. They easily made themselves masters of the whole, as there was little

or no opposition; the country being in no state of defence. They next proceeded to the bay of Honduras, where the British log-wood cutters were settled. These, finding themselves too weak to resist, applied to the governor of Jamaica for assistance, who sent them a supply of men, ammunition, and military stores, under captain Dalrymple.

Before the arrival of this detachment, the principal settlement, called St. George's Key, had been taken by the Spaniards, and retaken by the British. Captain Dalrymple, in his way, fell in with a squadron from admiral Parker's fleet, in search of some register-ships, richly laden; but they retreated into the harbour of Omoa, under the protection of a fort that was too strong to be attacked on the water side with safety.

A project was then formed, in conjunction with the people of Honduras, to reduce this fort; but the artillery they had with them were too light to make any impression. It was then determined to try the success of an escalade; and this was executed with so much spirit, that the Spaniards were so astonished that they made no resistance.

The soldiers threw down their arms and surrendered. The spoil was very great, being valued at three millions of dollars. The Spaniards chiefly lamented the loss of two hundred and fifty quintals of quick-silver, a commodity indispensably necessary in the working of their gold and silver mines; so that they offered to ransom it at any price; but this was refused: as also the ransom of the fort, notwithstanding the governor offered three hundred thousand dollars for it. A small garrison was left in it by the British. But it was soon after attacked by a formidable force, and they were obliged to evacuate it. But before they retired, they destroyed every thing that could be of use to the enemy; the guns were spiked, and they even locked the gates and carried off the keys, in sight of the besiegers; after which the garrison embarked without the loss of a man.

The war in America was now transferred to the southern colonies, where the operations became at last decisive. Towards the end of the year 1779, sir Henry Clinton sailed from New York, with a considerable body of troops, intended for an attack on Charleston, in South Carolina, in a fleet of ships of war and transports, under the command of vice-admiral Arbuthnot. After a tedious voyage, in which they suffered some losses, they arrived at the Havanna, where they endeavoured to repair the damages they had sustained during the voyage. From thence they proceeded to North Edisto, on the tenth of February, 1780. The passage thither was speedy and prosperous. The transports all entered the harbour next day; and the army took possession of St. John's island, about thirty miles from Charleston, without any opposition.

Preparations were immediately made for passing the squadron over Charleston bar; but no opportunity offered of going into the harbour, until the twentieth of March; when it was effected without any accident, though the American galleys continually attempted to prevent the English boats from sunding the channel.

The British troops had previously removed from St. John's to St. James's island; and on the twenty-ninth of the same month, they effected their landing on Charleston neck. They broke ground on the first of April, within eight hundred yards of the American works; and by the eighth, the guns were mounted in battery.

Admiral Arbuthnot, in passing Sullivan's island, sustained a severe fire from the American batteries erected there, and suffered some damage in his rigging, twenty-seven sea-men were killed and wounded, the *Acetus* transport, having on board some naval stores, grounded within gun-shot of the island, and was so much damaged, that she was abandoned and burnt. Sir Henry Clinton and the admiral, on the tenth of April, summoned the town to surrender to his majesty's arms. But general Lincoln, who commanded in Charleston, answered with a declaration of his intention to defend the place. The batteries were then opened against the town, and after a short time, the fire from the American advanced-works abated. The troops in the town were not sufficient in point of numbers for defending works of such extent as those of Charleston; many of them had not been much accustomed to military service, and very badly provided with clothes, and other necessaries. Supplies and reinforcements, which were anxiously expected by general Lincoln, from Virginia and other places, were intercepted by Earl Cornwallis, and lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. They totally defeated a body of cavalry and militia, as they were proceeding to the relief of the town; they likewise secured certain posts which commanded the adjacent country, by which means they often prevented supplies of provisions from entering into the town.

Tarleton, however, was defeated by colonel Washington, at the head of a regular troop of horse; which circumstance afforded the ladies in Charleston, who were warmly attached to the cause of their country, an opportunity of rallying the British officers, and Tarleton in particular, who affecting to make his court to one of them, by commending the bravery of colonel Washington, added, he should like to see him; she wittily replied, he might have had that gratification, had he looked behind him when he fled from the battle of the Cowpens.

On the 18th of May, general Clinton again summoned the town to surrender, upon the same terms as he had offered before. General Lincoln then proposed articles of capitulation, but they were not agreed to by general Clinton. At length the town being



closely invested, and preparations made for storming it, and the ships, consisting of the Roebuck, Richmond, Romulus, Blonde, Virginia, Raleigh, and Sandwich armed ship, and the Renown, all ready to move to the assault. General Lincoln, at the earnest entreaty of the inhabitants, surrendered it on such articles as had been proposed by the British general. This was on the fourth of May, the town having held out one month and two days, since it had first been summoned to surrender.

A large quantity of ordnance, arms, and ammunition, were found in Charleston, and according to sir Henry Clinton's account, the number of prisoners amounted to five thousand six hundred and fifteen men, but according to the account transmitted to Congress by general Lincoln, amounted only to two thousand four hundred and eighty-seven: to account for the great difference in the two statements, in the most satisfactory manner, must be, by supposing that general Clinton included the militia and inhabitants of the town. Several American frigates were also taken, and destroyed in the harbour of Charleston.

After the surrender of the town, general Clinton issued two proclamations, and a hand-bill was circulated among the inhabitants of South Carolina; the design of which, was to induce them to return to their allegiance, and to be ready to join the king's troops. It imported, that the helping hand of every man was wanted to establish peace and good order; and that as the commander in chief wished not to draw the king's friends into danger, while success remained doubtful, so now, as all doubts upon this head were removed, he trusted that one and all would heartily join to effect such necessary measures, as from time to time might be pointed out for that purpose.

Those who had families, were to form a militia to remain at home, and assembled occasionally in their own districts, when required, under officers of their own choosing. Those who had no families, and could be conveniently spared for a time, it was presumed, would cheerfully assist his majesty's troops in driving their oppressors, acting under the authority of congress, and all the miseries of war, far from that colony.

For this purpose, it was said to be necessary that the young men should be ready to assemble when required, and serve with the king's troops for any six months of the ensuing twelve, that might be requisite, under proper regulations. They might choose officers for each company to command them, and were to be allowed, when on service, pay, ammunition, and provisions, in the same manner as the king's troops. When they joined the army, each man was to be furnished with a certificate, declaring, that he was only engaged as a militia-man for the term specified, that he was not to be marched beyond North Carolina and Georgia; and that when the time was expired, he was freed from all claims

whatever of military service, excepting the common and usual militia duty where he lived. He would then, it was said, have paid his debt to his country; and be entitled to enjoy undisturbed that peace, liberty, and property, at home, which he had contributed to secure.

The proclamations and publications of general Clinton produced some effect in South Carolina. A number of the inhabitants of Charleston, who were considered as prisoners on parole, signed an address to general Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, amounting to two hundred and ten persons, soliciting to be re-admitted to the character and condition of British subjects, declaring their disapprobation of the doctrine of American independence, and expressing their regret, that after the repeal of those statutes which gave rise to the troubles in America, the overtures made by his majesty's commissioners had not been regarded by congress.

Before we proceed any further with the transactions in South Carolina, it will be necessary to take a view of the war in another part of the continent. On the tenth of July, 1780, M. Ternay, with a fleet, consisting of seven ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, with a large body of French troops, commanded by count Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island; and the following day six thousand men were landed there; a committee of the general assembly of Rhode Island was appointed to congratulate the French general upon his arrival: whereupon he returned an answer in which he informed them that the king, his master, had sent him to the assistance of his good and faithful allies, the United States of America. At present, he said, he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force destined for their aid: and the king had ordered him to assure them that his whole power should be exerted for their support. He added, that the French troops were under the strictest discipline; and were to act under the orders of general Washington, and that they would live with the Americans as brethren.

A scheme was soon after formed, of making a combined attack with English ships and troops, under the command of sir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, against the French fleet and troops at Rhode Island. Accordingly, a considerable part of the troops were embarked at New York for that purpose. As soon as general Washington received information of their design, by a rapid movement, he passed the North river, and with an army of twelve thousand men proceeded to King's-Bridge, in order to attack New York; but learning that the British general had changed his intentions, and disembarked his troops on the twenty-first of the month, he re-crossed the river, and returned to his former station.

An unsuccessful attempt was also made about this time in the Jerseys, by Knyphausen, with seven thousand British troops un-

der his command, to surprise the advance posts of General Washington's army. They proceeded with great expedition, towards Springfield, meeting little opposition till they came to the bridge, which was gallantly defended by one hundred and seventy of the continental troops, for fifteen minutes, against the British army; but were at length obliged to give up so unequal a contest, with the loss of thirty-seven men. After securing this pass, the British marched from place to place, and committed some depredations, but gained no laurels, and were obliged to return without effecting any thing material.

The royal arms were attended with more success in South Carolina. Earl Cornwallis, who now commanded the troops in that quarter, obtained a signal victory over general Gates on the sixteenth of August. The action began at day break: the Americans were much more numerous than the British, but numbers were of no advantage, as the ground, on which both armies stood, was narrowed by swamps on the right and left.

The attack was made by the British troops with great vigour, and in a few minutes it became general along the whole line. It was at this time a dead calm, the air was hazy, so that the smoke occasioned so thick a darkness, that it was impossible for either party to see the effects of a very heavy fire, and well supported on both sides. The British troops kept up a constant fire, or made use of bayonets as opportunities offered; and after an obstinate resistance of three quarters of an hour, the Americans were thrown into confusion, and forced to give way in every quarter. The continental troops behaved well: but the militia were soon broken, and left the former to oppose the whole force of the British troops. General Gates did all in his power to rally them, but without effect: the regular troops under general Gates retreated in good order; but the route of the militia was so great, that the British cavalry pursued them to the distance of twenty-two miles from the place where the action happened. The Americans lost one thousand in killed and wounded, and a like number, it is said, taken prisoners; but the accounts are not very accurate.

The British troops engaged in this action did not exceed two thousand men, while the American army is said to have amounted to six thousand men, of which the greater part was militia. Seven pieces of brass cannon, a number of colours, and all the ammunition-wagons, were taken. The killed and wounded of the British troops amounted to two hundred and thirteen. Major general Baron de Kalb, a Prussian officer in the American service, was taken prisoner, after he had been mortally wounded: he had distinguished himself in the course of the engagement by his gallantry, and received eleven wounds.

Lieutenant colonel Tarleton, who had greatly distinguished himself in this action, was detached the next day, with some ca-



valry and light infantry, to attack a party of Americans under the command of general Sumpter; he executed this service with great military address. He had received certain intelligence of Sumpter's movements; and by forced and concealed marches, came up with and surprised him, in the middle of the day, on the 18th of the month, near the Catawba fords: the detachment under Sumpter was totally dispersed, amounting to seven hundred men; one hundred and fifty were killed on the spot, and three hundred made prisoners: two pieces of brass cannon, and forty-four wagons, were likewise taken.

While the French fleet and army were blockaded at Rhode Island, by admirals Graves and Arbuthnot, with a fleet of ten sail of the line, and the Americans were brooding over their disappointments; the campaign of 1780 having passed away in the northern states, in successive and reiterated distresses; the country exhausted, and the continental currency expiring: the army inactive for want of subsistence; while these disasters were openly menacing the ruin of the American cause, treachery was secretly undermining it.

General Arnold, a distinguished officer, a native of Connecticut, who had been among the foremost to take up arms against Great Britain, and widen the breach between the parent state and the colonies; his distinguished military talents had procured him every honour a grateful country could bestow: he possessed, and was in the full enjoyment of substantial fame: his country had not only loaded him with honours, but forgiven his crimes: he, who had been prodigal of life in his country's cause, was indulged in extraordinary demands for his services. But the generosity of the states did not keep pace with the extravagance of their favourite officer. His love of pleasure produced the love of money: to attain which he sacrificed his honour and duty. He made contracts, and entered into partnerships and speculations, which could not bear investigation. Thus embarrassed, a change of political sides afforded the only probable hope of evading a scrutiny, and bettering his circumstances, and gratifying his favourite passions.

The American army was stationed in the strong holds of the High Lands, on both sides of the North River; Arnold was entrusted by general Washington, with the command of West Point, a strong fortified post. This was called the Gibraltar of America, and was built for the defence of the North River. Rocky ridges rising one behind another rendered it so secure, that it could not be invested by a less number than twenty thousand men.... Arnold being entrusted with the command, carried on a negociation with general Clinton, by which it was agreed, that Arnold should so arrange matters, that Clinton should be enabled to surprise West Point, and have the garrison so completely in his power

that the troops must either lay down their arms, or be cut to pieces.

The loss of this fort would have been severely felt, as it was the repository of their most valuable stores. Sir Henry Clinton's agent in this negociation was major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, a young officer of uncommon merit; nature had bestowed on him her choicest gifts; he possessed many amiable and rare qualities; his fidelity, his place, and character fitted him for this important business; but his high idea for candour, his abhorrence of duplicity, and nice sense of honour, made him reject those arts of deception which was necessary to accomplish its success. To favour the necessary communication, the Vulture sloop of war had been previously stationed in the North River as near to Arnold's posts as was possible, without exciting suspicion. A written correspondence had been carried on between Arnold and Andre under the fictitious names of Gustavus and Anderson. A boat was sent in the night to bring major Andre to shore; he was met by Arnold on the beach without the posts of either army. As their business was not finished before the dawn of day, which made it unsafe for Andre to return to the Vulture sloop of war, he was persuaded by Arnold to lie concealed until the next night. He was then conducted within one of the American posts, against his previous stipulation and knowledge, and continued with Arnold the following day. The next night the boat-men refused to take him back, as the Vulture had changed her position. The only practicable mode of escape was by land to New York.

To ensure success he changed his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout; was furnished with a horse, and a pass under the name of John Anderson, allowing him to go to the White Plains, or lower if he thought proper. He advanced alone, and undisturbed a great part of the way. And when he expected he was nearly out of danger, was stopped by three of the New York militia, who, with others, were scouting between the posts of the two armies. Major Andre, instead of producing his pass, asked the man who stopped him "where he belonged to?" who answered, "to below," meaning New York. He replied "so do I," and declared himself a British officer, and desired he might not be detained. He soon found his mistake. The captors proceeded to search him; sundry papers were found in his possession. These were secreted in his boots, and were in Arnold's hand writing. They contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance at West Point, the artillery orders, and critical remarks on the works, &c.

Andre offered his captors a purse of gold, and a new valuable watch, if they would let him pass; and permanent provision, and future promotion, if they would convey and accompany him to New York. This was refused, and he was delivered a prisoner to colonel Jameson, who commanded the scouting parties. Andre still assumed the name of John Anderson, and asked leave to send a

letter to Arnold, to acquaint him with his detention : this was granted, and Arnold immediately, upon the receipt of the letter, abandoned every thing, and went on board the Vulture sloop of war.

Lieutenant-colonel Jameson forwarded, by an express, all the papers found on Andre, together with a letter from that gentleman, avowing his name and rank, in which he endeavoured to shew that he did not come under the description of a spy. The style of the letter was dignified without insolence. He stated, that he had held a correspondence with a person, by order of his general : that his intention went no further, than to meet that person on neutral ground, for the purpose of intelligence ; and that against his express stipulation and intention, he was brought within the American posts, and had to concert his escape from them. Being taken on his return, he was betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise. He concluded with requesting, whatever his fate should prove, a decency of treatment might be observed, which would mark, that though unfortunate, he was branded with nothing that was dishonourable, and that he was involuntarily an impostor.

General Washington referred the case of major Andre to the decision of a board of general officers. On his examination, he candidly confessed every thing relating to himself ; and particularly, that he did not come on shore under the sanction of a flag. The board did not examine a single witness, but founded their report on his own confession ; and finally gave it as their opinion, "that major Andre ought to be considered as a spy ; and that agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death."

Every exertion was made by the royal commanders, and every plea that ingenuity and humanity could suggest, to save the life of Andre, but without effect. Greene proposed delivering him up for Arnold ; but this could not be acceded to by the British, consistent with principles of sound policy. Andre, though superior to the terrors of death, wished to die like a soldier. To obtain this favour, he wrote a letter to general Washington, fraught with sentiments of military dignity. General Washington did not think proper to grant this request ; but his delicacy was saved from the pain of a negative denial. The guard which attended him in his confinement, marched with him to the place of execution. Major Andre walked with firmness, composure, and dignity, between two officers of his guard, his arm locked in theirs. Upon seeing the preparations at the fatal spot, he asked with some concern, "Must I die in this manner?" He was told it was unavoidable. He replied, "I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode:" but soon added, "it will be but a momentary pang." He ascended the cart with a pleasing countenance, and with a composure that excited the admiration, and melted the



hearts of the spectators. Their sensibility was strongly impressed, by beholding a well-dressed youth in the bloom of life, of a peculiarly engaging person, mien, and aspect, devoted to immediate execution. He was asked, when the fatal moment was at hand, if he had any thing to say : he answered, " Nothing but to request that you will witness to the world that I die like a brave man." In a few succeeding moments the affecting scene was closed. To offer any further remarks upon the fate of this valuable and accomplished officer, would be unnecessary, as the world has been sufficiently acquainted with every transaction respecting it.

After the defeat of general Gates by Earl Cornwallis, that nobleman exerted himself to the utmost, in extending the progress of the British arms, and with considerable effect. But one enterprise, which was conducted by major Ferguson, was unsuccessful. That officer had been very active in his exertions in the royal cause, and had taken great pains to improve the discipline of the loyal militia ; with about one thousand four hundred of these, he made several incursions into the country. He was, however, attacked on the 7th of October, 1780, by a superior body of Americans, at King's mountain, and totally defeated. One hundred and fifty were killed in the action, and eight hundred and ten made prisoners, and one thousand five hundred stand of arms were taken.

But the month following, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with a party of one hundred and seventy cavalry, attacked general Sumpter, who is said to have had one thousand men, at a place called Black Stocks, and obliged him to retire. Sumpter was wounded, and about one hundred and twenty of his party killed, wounded, and taken prisoners : about fifty of the British were killed and wounded.

On the third of September, the *Mercury*, a Congress packet, was taken by the *Vestal*, commanded by captain Kepple, near Newfoundland. On board this packet was Henry Laurens, late president of Congress, who was bound on an embassy to Holland. He had thrown his papers overboard, but the greatest part of them were recovered, without receiving much damage. He was brought to London, and examined before the privy council ; in consequence of which, he was committed a close prisoner to the tower, on a charge of high treason. The contents of those papers, hastened the rupture which soon after took place, between Great Britain and Holland ; for among them was found, the plan of a treaty, between the United States of North America, and the republic of Holland.

On the first of January, 1781, the troops that were huttet at Morristown, called the Pennsylvania line, turned out, in number about one thousand three hundred, and declared they would serve

no longer, unless their grievances were redressed. A riot ensued, in which an officer was killed and some wounded. They then collected the artillery and stores, and marched out of the camp. As they passed by the quarters of general Wayne, he sent a message to them, requesting them to desist, or the consequences might prove fatal. They nevertheless proceeded on their march, till the evening, when they posted themselves advantageously, and elected officers to command them; the next day they marched to Middlebrook, and on the third they reached Princeton, where they fixed their quarters. On that day, a flag of truce was sent to them from the officers of the American camp, with a message, desiring to be informed what were their intentions. Some alledged they had served out the time of their enlistment, and would serve no longer; and others declared they would not return, unless their grievances were redressed. But they all at the same time protested, that they were not actuated by motives of disaffection to the American cause. This they soon had it in their power to make manifest, when general Clinton (who was soon informed of the revolt, and hoped to draw them over to the British interest) sent two messengers with tempting offers to that purpose: these they disdainfully refused, and delivered up the messengers to Congress. Joseph Reid, esq. president of the state of Pennsylvania, afterwards effected an accommodation; those who had served out their full time, were permitted to return home, and the others, upon satisfactory assurances that their grievances should be redressed, rejoined their countrymen in arms.

To return to North Carolina, where lord Cornwallis had began to make vigorous exertions in order to reduce that province, but was delayed by general Morgan and the troops under him, who attempted to make themselves masters of the valuable district of Ninety-Six. To prevent this, his lordship despatched lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with three hundred cavalry, three hundred light infantry, the seventh regiment, the first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, and two three pounders, to oppose the progress of Morgan. The British commander had not the least doubt of the success of the expedition. On the 17th of January, the royal detachment came up with the Americans under general Morgan, two-thirds of whom were militia: these were drawn up in a wood, at a place called the Cowpens, near Pacolet river. The British, besides the advantage of field-pieces, had five to four in infantry, and more than three to one in cavalry. The attack was begun by the first line of infantry, consisting of the seventh regiment, and a corps of light infantry, with a troop of cavalry placed on each flank. The first battalion of the seventy-first, and the remainder of the cavalry, formed the reserve. The American line soon gave way, and the militia quitted the field; upon which the king's troops supposing victory certain, engaged with ardour in the pursuit and

were thereby thrown into disorder : general Morgan's corps, who were supposed to have been routed, immediately faced about ; and discharged so heavy a fire upon the royal troops, as threw them into such confusion, that they were at length totally defeated by the Americans. Four hundred of the British light infantry were killed, wounded or taken prisoners : the two field-pieces fell into the hands of the Americans, together with the colours of the seventh regiment ; and almost all the detachment of royal artillery were cut to pieces in defence of their colours. Colonel Tarleton then retreated to Hamilton's ford, near the mouth of Bullock's creek, with part of his baggage, having destroyed the rest. This stroke was sensibly felt by lord Cornwallis.

The care of collecting the remains of Tarleton's corps, now principally employed his thoughts, as well as to endeavour to form a junction with general Leslie, who had been ordered to march towards him with a body of British troops from Wynnesborough. Considerable exertions were then made by part of the army, to retake the prisoners, and intercept general Morgan's corps on its retreat to the Catawba. But that officer, by forced marches, had crossed it the evening before a great rain, which swelled the river to such a height as prevented the British from crossing for several days ; in which time the prisoners, with their captors, had crossed the Yadkin river, whence they proceeded to the river Dan, which they also passed : and on the 14th of February reached Guilford court-house in Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis halted two days to collect flour, and rid himself of all unnecessary incumbrances. Being thus prepared, he marched through North Carolina with great rapidity, and penetrated to the extremities of that province, to the banks of the river Dan : some skirmishes ensued, but he met with no very considerable opposition. On the first of February, 1781, the king's troops crossed the Catawba, at M'Cowan's ford, where general Davidson with a party of American militia was posted, in order to oppose their passage, but he was killed by the first discharge ; the royal troops made good their landing, and the militia retreated. When lord Cornwallis arrived at Hillsborough, he erected the royal standard, and invited by proclamation, all loyal subjects to repair to it, and assist in the restoration of order and good government. He had been informed that the king's friends were numerous in that part of the country ; but the event did not confirm the truth of such information. The royalists were but few in number, or too timid to join the king's standard. About two hundred were proceeding to Hillsborough, to avow their attachment to the royal cause, under colonel Pyle, but they were met accidentally by a detachment of the American army, who killed several of them, as they were begging for quarters, without making the least resistance. General Greene in the meanwhile was



marching with great expedition with the troops under his command, to form a junction with other American corps, that he might impede the progress of lord Cornwallis.

General Greene, having effected a junction on the tenth of March 1781, with a regiment of continental troops, and two large bodies of militia from Virginia and North Carolina, was resolved to attack the British troops under lord Cornwallis. They accordingly marched on the twelfth, and on the fourteenth arrived at Guilford. Lord Cornwallis was apprised of the designs of the American general; as they approached nearer to each other, a few skirmishes between the advanced parties took place. On the fifteenth, lord Cornwallis proceeded with his whole force, to attack the Americans on their march, or in their encampment. About four miles from Guilford the advanced guard of the British army, commanded by colonel Tarleton, were met by lieutenant-colonel Lee's division, with whom he had a severe skirmish, and was obliged to make a precipitate retreat. The country in which the action happened is a perfect wilderness, excepting some few fields interspersed.

The American army was posted on a rising ground, about a mile and a half from Guilford court-house: it was drawn up in three lines, the front composed of the North Carolina militia, under the command of generals Butler and Eaton; the second line of Virginia militia commanded by generals Stephens and Lawson, forming two brigades; the third line consisting of two brigades, one of Maryland and the other of Virginia continental troops; and a regiment of riflemen, under the command of colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation for the security of the right flank; lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a corps of riflemen under colonel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of the left flank. The attack on the American army, was made in the following order, by the directions of lord Cornwallis. On the right the regiment of Bose, and the seventy-first regiment, led by major-general Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of guards; on the left, the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, led by lieutenant-colonel Webster, and supported by the grenadiers, and second battalion of guards, commanded by Brigadier general O'Hara. The yagers and light infantry, remained in a wood on the left of the ordnance, ready to act as circumstances might require.

About two o'clock P. M. the attack began by a cannonade, which lasted about twenty minutes, when the action became general. The American forces under colonels Washington and Lee, were warmly engaged and did great execution. Colonel Tarleton's orders were to keep the cavalry compact, and not to charge without positive orders, except it was to protect any of the divisions from the most imminent danger of being defeated. The

woods were so thick, that the British could not make a free use of the bayonet. The second battalion of guards, were the first that gained the clear ground, near Guilford court-house, where was a corps of continental infantry, superior in number; these were formed in the open field, on the left of the road. Desirous of signaling themselves, they immediately attacked, and soon defeated them, taking two six pounders; but as they pursued the Americans with too much ardour to a wood, they were thrown into confusion by a heavy fire, and were instantly driven into the field, by colonel Washington's dragoons, who recovered the two six-pounders. The American cavalry were afterwards repulsed, and the two six-pounders again fell into the hands of the British.

The British having broken the second Maryland regiment and turned the left flank of the Americans, got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and were endeavouring to gain their right, which would have enclosed the whole of the continental troops; a retreat was immediately ordered by general Greene, which was conducted with good order to Reedy-Fork river, and they crossed the ford about three miles from the field of action, where they halted. After the stragglers were collected, they retreated to the Iron-works about ten miles from Guilford, and encamped. The Americans lost their artillery and ammunition-wagons.

The action lasted one hour and a half, in which short space, according to the account of lord Cornwallis, there were of the British five hundred and thirty-two killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. General Greene in his account to Congress, gives an account of no more than three hundred and twenty-nine killed, wounded and missing: but he gave no account of the militia, which was more than one hundred. Lieutenant-colonel Stewart was killed in the action, and lieutenant-colonel Webster; the captains Schutz, Maynard and Goodriche, died of the wounds they received, and the brigadier-generals O'Hara and Howard, and colonel Tarleton were wounded. The principal officer among the Americans killed, was major Anderson, of the Maryland line, and generals Stephens and Huger, were wounded.

Notwithstanding general Greene's defeat, he endeavoured to make some further attempts against the king's forces in South Carolina. Lord Rawdon, an experienced and very gallant officer, was posted at Camden, with about eight hundred British troops and provincials. Greene appeared before that place on the 19th of April, with a large body of continental troops, and militia. Despairing of success, should he attempt to storm the town, he therefore took such a position, as he imagined, would be likely to induce the enemy to make a sally from their works; when he thought he might attack them with advantage. Greene therefore posted the Americans on an eminence, which was covered with wood, flanked on the left by an impassible swamp.

On the morning of the twenty-fifth, lord Rawdon marched out of Camden, and attacked Greene in his camp, who was compelled to give way, after making a vigorous resistance : he had been in hopes of defeating the British, as he had chosen so advantageous a situation, and had a commanding superiority in point of number. The bravery of colonel Washington, was very conspicuous in this action ; he made two hundred of the English prisoners, besides ten or twelve officers, before he perceived the Americans were retreating. The British had about one hundred killed and wounded, upwards of one hundred of the Americans were taken prisoners ; and according to general Greene's account, there were one hundred and twenty-six Americans killed and wounded. The British, it was said, continued the pursuit three miles.

After this action, the Americans retreated to Rugely mills, twelve miles from Camden. Lord Rawdon soon after left that place, having first burned the jail, mills, and some private houses.

Greene's next expedition was an attack upon Ninety Six, which he attempted to storm, but was repulsed with great bravery ; he then retired with his army behind the Saluda river, a strong situation, about sixteen miles from Ninety six. About this time, major-general Phillips, and brigadier general Arnold, made some predatory excursions into Virginia and did considerable damage by destroying the American stores and magazines ; but the royal cause was not much benefited by such a waste of property.

Lord Cornwallis, after his victory over general Greene at Guilford, proceeded as aforesaid, to Wilmington ; and on the twentieth of May, arrived at Petersburg, in Virginia. On the sixteenth of June, 1781, about six miles from Williamsburg, lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, with about three hundred and fifty of the queen's rangers, and eighty yagers mounted, were attacked by a much superior body of Americans whom the repulsed with great gallantry and success, making four officers, and twenty private men prisoners. The loss of the Americans in this action, is said to have been more than one hundred and twenty. Of the British only forty.

On the sixth of July, an action took place near the Green Springs, in Virginia, between a reconnoitering party of Americans, under general Wayne, and a large party of the British army under lord Cornwallis, in which the Americans had one hundred and twenty-seven killed and wounded ; and the loss of the royal troops is said to have been much greater.

In a variety of skirmishes about this time, the marquis de la Fayette distinguished himself. On the 9th of September, general Greene defeated colonel Stuart, near the Eutaw Springs, in South Carolina : it was an obstinate engagement, and lasted two hours.

Lord Cornwallis now began to be sensible that his situation in Virginia was very critical ; the reinforcements and supplies be-



ing expected from Sir Henry Clinton (and without which he could not ensure himself success in his operations) had not arrived. General Washington's military movements were such as impressed on the mind of the British general, a fear that his designs were upon New York; he therefore thought it too hazardous, to send any large body of troops to the assistance of his lordship.

General Washington having thus, for a considerable time, kept Sir Henry Clinton in continual alarms, suddenly quitted his camp at the White Plains, crossed the Delaware, and marched towards Virginia, with the design of attacking lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton, about the same time, was informed that the count de Grasse with a large French fleet, was expected every moment in the Chesapeake, in order that he might co-operate with general Washington. He immediately sent both by land and water, intelligence to lord Cornwallis; and also sent him assurances, that he would either reinforce him, or make the most effectual diversion in his power.

On the twenty-eighth of August, Sir Samuel Hood, with a squadron from the West Indies, joined the squadron under admiral Greaves, before New York. They immediately proceeded to the Chesapeake, where they arrived on the fifth of September, with nineteen ships of the line, when they found the count de Grasse anchored in the bay, with twenty-four ships of the line. The French admiral had previously landed a large body of troops who immediately marched to join the American army under general Washington. On the same day the two fleets came to an engagement: on board the British fleet ninety were killed, and two hundred and forty-six wounded. Some of the ships were much damaged, and the *Terrible*, a 74 gun-ship, was so much shattered, that it was found most expedient to set her on fire. The two fleets continued in sight of each other for five days.

At length the French fleet anchored within the Capes, so as to block up the passage. Admiral Greaves then held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that the fleet should proceed to New York, and the ships be put in the best state for service. Before the news of this action had reached New York, a council of war was held there, in which it was resolved that five thousand men should be embarked in the king's ships, and proceed to the assistance of lord Cornwallis: but this resolution was rescinded, when it was known that the French were absolute masters of the Chesapeake. In another council it was resolved that, as lord Cornwallis had provisions to last him to the end of October, it was most adviseable, to wait for the arrival of admiral Digby, who was expected with three ships of the line.

In the meantime the most effectual measures were adopted by general Washington for surrounding the British army under lord Cornwallis. A large body of French troops were under the com-

mand of lieutenant-general the count de Rochambeau, with a large train of artillery. The American forces were in number one thousand three hundred : eight hundred of whom were continental troops ; the whole under the command of general Washington.

On the twenty-ninth of September, 1781, York Town in Virginia was completely invested, and the British army quite blocked up. The day following, Sir Henry Clinton wrote a letter to lord Cornwallis, containing assurances that he would do every thing that was in his power to relieve him, and some further information respecting the manner in which he intended to accomplish that relief. A duplicate of this letter was sent to lord Cornwallis by major Cochran : that gentleman went in a vessel to the Capes, and made his way through the whole French fleet in an open boat. He got to York Town on the tenth of October, and the next day had his head taken off by a cannon ball, as he was walking by the side of lord Cornwallis. The fate of this gallant officer drew tears from the eyes of his lordship.

After the return of admiral Greaves to New York, a council of war was held, in which it was resolved, that a large body of troops should be embarked, and that exertions of both fleet and army should be made in order to form a junction with lord Cornwallis.

Sir Henry Clinton, himself, with seven thousand troops, went on board the fleet, on the eighteenth. They came abreast of Cape Charles, at the entrance of the Chesapeake, on the twenty-fourth, where they received intelligence that lord Cornwallis had been obliged to capitulate five days before. It was on the nineteenth that his lordship surrendered himself and his whole army, by capitulation, prisoners to the combined armies of America and France. He made a defence worthy of his former fame for military achievements, but was compelled to submit by imperious necessity, and superior numbers. The British prisoners amounted to upwards of six thousand, but many of them, at the time of surrender, were incapable of duty. The prisoners, cannon, and military stores, fell to the Americans, except the seamen, who, with the shipping, found they were, by the articles of capitulation, to be delivered up to the French.

After this event the subjugation of the colonies was virtually given up. Some inconsiderable skirmishes took place between the Refugees and the Americans, afterwards ; but were not of that importance as to merit a place in history.

On the fifth of May, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York, being appointed to the command of the British troops in North America : soon after his arrival he wrote a letter to general Washington, informing him that admiral Digby, with himself, were appointed commissioners to treat for peace with the people of America. Another letter was sent, dated the second of August, and signed by Sir Guy Carleton and admiral Digby, in which

they informed general Washington, that negotiations for a general peace had commenced at Paris. Notwithstanding these favorable appearances, the Americans were jealous that it was the design of the British court to disunite them, or induce them to treat of a peace separately from their ally, the king of France.

Congress, therefore, passed a resolution : that any man or body of men, who should presume to make any separate treaty, partial convention, or agreement, with the king of Great Britain, or with any commissioner or commissioners, under the crown of Great Britain, ought to be treated as open and avowed enemies of the United States of America, and that those States could not with propriety hold any conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they should, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in express terms acknowledge the independence of the said States. On the thirtieth of November, 1783, the provincial articles of peace and reconciliation between Great Britain and the American States were signed at Paris; by which Great Britain acknowledged the Independence and sovereignty of the United States of America. These articles were ratified by a definitive treaty, September the third, 1783. John Adams, John Jay, and Benjamin Franklin, Esq's. were the gentlemen appointed by Congress to negotiate this peace on the part of America; and two gentlemen, Oswald and Hartly, on the part of the British. It ought to be remarked here, and known to every American citizen, that France repeatedly declared that her only view in assisting the Americans, was to diminish the power of Great Britain, and thereby promote her own interest; that she officiously interfered in the proposed treaty between Spain and America, by her endeavours to circumscribe the latter within very narrow limits, proposing to deprive the Americans of the right of navigation on the Mississippi, &c.

Thus ended a long and unnatural contest, in which Great Britain expended many millions of pounds sterling, lost thousands of her bravest subjects, and won nothing. America obtained her Independence, at the expense of many thousands of lives and much treasure; and has suffered exceedingly in the religious and moral character of her citizens.

The great influx of foreigners which poured into America from all quarters, disseminated their pernicious principles amongst the people. Infidelity spread like the plague through the different states, and threatens the subversion of those sober manners, and that love of order, which the christian religion inculcates.

The eighteenth of October, 1783, Congress issued a proclamation, in which the armies of the United States were applauded "for having displayed, through the progress of an arduous and difficult war, every military and patriotic virtue, and for which the thanks of their country were given them." They also declared



that such part of their armies as stood engaged to serve during the war, should from and after the third day of November, be discharged from the said service. The day preceding their dismissal, general Washington issued his farewell orders. The evacuation of New York took place about three weeks after the American army was discharged. For a twelve month preceding, there had been an unrestrained communication between that city, though a British garrison, and the adjacent country; the bitterness of war had passed away, and civilities were freely exchanged between those who lately were engaged in deadly contests, and sought for all opportunities to destroy each other.

As soon as the royal army was withdrawn, general Washington and governor Clinton, with their suites, made a public entry into New York: a general joy was manifested by the citizens on their return to their habitations, and in the evening there was a display of fire-works; they exceeded every thing of the kind which had been seen in America. General Washington, soon after, took leave of his officers, they having been previously assembled for that purpose. Calling for a glass of wine he thus addressed them, "with a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you, I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable."

He afterwards took an affectionate leave of each of them; when this affecting scene was over, Washington left the room, and passed through the corps of light infantry, to the place of embarkation; as he entered the barge, to cross the North river, he turned to his companions in glory, and waved his hat, and took a silent adieu. The officers, who had followed him in mute procession, answered his last signal with tears, and hung upon the barge which conveyed him from their sight, till they could no longer distinguish their beloved commander in chief. The general proceeded to Annapolis, the seat of congress, to resign his commission. On his way thither, he delivered to the comptroller in Philadelphia, an account of the expenditure of all the public money he had ever received. This was in his own hand-writing, and every entry made in a very exact manner. The whole sum which passed through his hands during the war, amounted only to fourteen thousand four hundred and seventy-nine pounds eighteen shillings and nine pence, sterling; no sum charged or retained for personal services.

The day on which he resigned his commission, a great number of distinguished personages attended the interesting scene. On the twenty-third of December, 1783, he addressed the president, Thomas Mifflin, as follows:

"*Mr. President,*

The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere

congratulations to congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands, the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interposition of providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits, of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war; it was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate: permit me, sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of congress.

I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interest of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping.

Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action: and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

To which the president made a suitable reply. The mingled emotions that agitated the minds of the spectators during this interesting and solemn scene, were beyond description.

Immediately on resigning his commission, general Washington "hastened with ineffable delights," (to use his own words) to his seat at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potomac, in Virginia.

The country now free from foreign force and domestic violence, and in the enjoyment of general tranquility, a proposition was made by Virginia to all the other states, to meet in convention, for the purpose of digesting a form of government; which finally issued in the establishment of a new constitution. Congress, which formerly consisted of one body, was made to consist of two: one of which was to be chosen by the people, in proportion to their numbers, the other by the state legislatures. Warm and animating debates took place on the propriety of establishing or rejecting it. The ratification of it was celebrated in most of the states with elegant processions.

The first congress under the new constitution met at New York, in April, 1789. Though there were a great diversity of opinions about the new constitution, all were of one mind who should be their chief executive officer. The people unanimously turned their eyes on the late commander in chief, as the most proper person to be their first president. Unambitious of any increase of honours, he had retired to his farm in Virginia, and hoped to be excused from all further public service. But his country called him by an unanimous vote to fill the highest station in its gift.

That pure and upright zeal for his country's welfare, which had uniformly influenced him to devote his time and talents to its service, again influenced him to relinquish the more pleasing scenes of retirement, and induced him once more to engage in the important concerns of public life. The intelligence of his election was communicated to him while he was on his farm in Virginia; he soon after set out for New York: on his way thither, every expression of respect, that a greatful people could bestow, was shewn him. Gentlemen of the first character and station, attended him from state to state. A day was fixed soon after his arrival at New York for his taking the oath of office. In the morning of the day appointed for this purpose, the clergy, of different denominations, assembled their congregations in their respective places of worship, and offered up prayers for the president and people of the United States. About noon, a procession, followed by a multitude of citizens, moved from the president's house to Federal Hall. When they came within a short distance of the hall, the troops formed a line on both sides of the way, through which the president and vice-president, John Adams, passed into the senate chamber. Immediately after, accompanied by both houses, he went into the gallery fronting Broad street, and before them and an immense crowd of spectators, took the oath prescribed by the constitution: which was administered by R. R. Livingston, the chancellor of the state of New York.

During the performance of this ceremony, an awful silence prevailed. The chancellor then proclaimed him, *President of the United States of America*. This was announced by the discharge of thirteen guns, and by the joyful acclamations of near ten thousand citizens. He then retired to the senate chamber, where he delivered a speech to both houses: near the conclusion of which he renounced all pecuniary compensation.

This memorable day completed the organization of the new constitution. The experience of former ages, as well as of later times, has given many melancholy and fatal proofs, that popular governments have seldom answered in practice. The inhabitants of the United States are now making the experiment. That they may succeed in asserting the dignity of human nature, and a capacity for self government, is devoutly to be wished.



The appointment of general Washington to the presidency of the United States, was peculiarly fortunate; he possessed such a commanding influence in the minds of the great bulk of the people, arising from a sure and well placed confidence in his patriotism and integrity; that they, with cheerfulness, acquiesced in all his measures for the public welfare; and notwithstanding, that during his administration, Great Britain and France were involved in a ruinous war, and there were many partizans in America, in favour of the latter, and would gladly have made a common cause with her against Great Britain; yet his firmness and sagacity, prevented the threatened evil, though they were encouraged by Genet, the ambassador from France, who openly and in defiance of the government of the United States, attempted to commission American citizens to arm and fit out vessels, to cruise against British subjects. The president's proclamation, enjoining a strict neutrality, was sanctioned by the great body of the people; and the insolent ravings of Genet were taken no further notice of, than to furnish the different states with a fresh opportunity of expressing their continued approbation and confidence, in his political measures.

When the term of his appointment as president had expired, he intimated to his friends, his intention to return once more to his loved retirement; he had even contemplated his farewell address, and was preparing to retire from the weight of public cares, when his countrymen, apprehensive for the public safety, in so critical a moment, united to implore him to desist from a resolution so alarming to their fears. Their interposition prevailed, and he again entered upon the arduous task, to the manifest satisfaction of every honest American; but what made the task sit more easy upon him, was the assistance of eminent men in the executive department. The names of Adams, Hamilton, Pickering, Wolcott, and others, are names which will long be remembered with gratitude by posterity, when the envenomed tongue of detraction will be forgotten. In 1796, in the month of September, a new election was to take place, when the public was anxiously desirous, that general Washington would again accept the first office in their gift; but his unalterable resolution was taken, to recede from the toils of state. His farewell address, contains such prudent and sound advice to his fellow-citizens, as shews that his country's welfare was still dear to his heart.

*“ Friends and Fellow-citizens,*

“ The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce

to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindnesses; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been an uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of our concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, with the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the encreasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me, as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary; I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred

upon me; still more for the stedfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected....Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained: that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplations, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad: of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in



your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in an event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together: the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefitting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East, supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions, to the

weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one *nation*....Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter....Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those over-grown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty; in this sense, it is that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire....Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorised to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective sub-divisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who, in any quarter, may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matters of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by *Geographical* discriminations, "*Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western*;" whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interest and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings, which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend

to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had an useful lesson on this head; they have seen in the negociation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of the policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states unfriendly to their interests, in regard to the *Mississippi*: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the *Union*, by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable.—No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions, which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing, within itself, a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true *Liberty*. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitution of government; but, the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe, the regular deliberations and actions of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a



party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government: destroying, afterwards, the very engines which lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however spacious the prettexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interest, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is indeed little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with a particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in the greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate dominion of one faction over another, sharpen-

ed by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissention, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.... But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which generally result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one party against another; foment, occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands an uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus, to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced

by experiment ancient and modern ; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in a way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation ; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, and partial or transient benefit, which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice ? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric ?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible ; avoiding the occasions of expense by cultivating peace : but remembering also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it ; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned ; not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to our representatives ; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate.



To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue, there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised that are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, (which is always a choice for difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive, for candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for the spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all: religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it?....Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtues? The experiment at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature....Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and untractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. ...The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels the government to war, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations has been the victim.

So likewise a passionate attachment of one nation for another, produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases

where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, who devote themselves to the favourite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interest of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming, to the enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the other.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see the danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even to second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes, usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.... Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations or collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation, invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury, from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour, or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it: for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony and liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking or granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence, for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you my countrymen, these counsels of an old and



affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to them, to moderate the fury of party-spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude of your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles that have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still-subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the twenty-second of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligations which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country, to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error: I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed

many errors. *Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.*

Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man, who views in it the natural soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government; the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers."

He resigned with pleasure, the seat he had filled with so much honour and applause, to his successor, and retired to his farm at Mount Vernon, where he remained tranquilly in possession of those rural delights which were most congenial to his natural inclination.

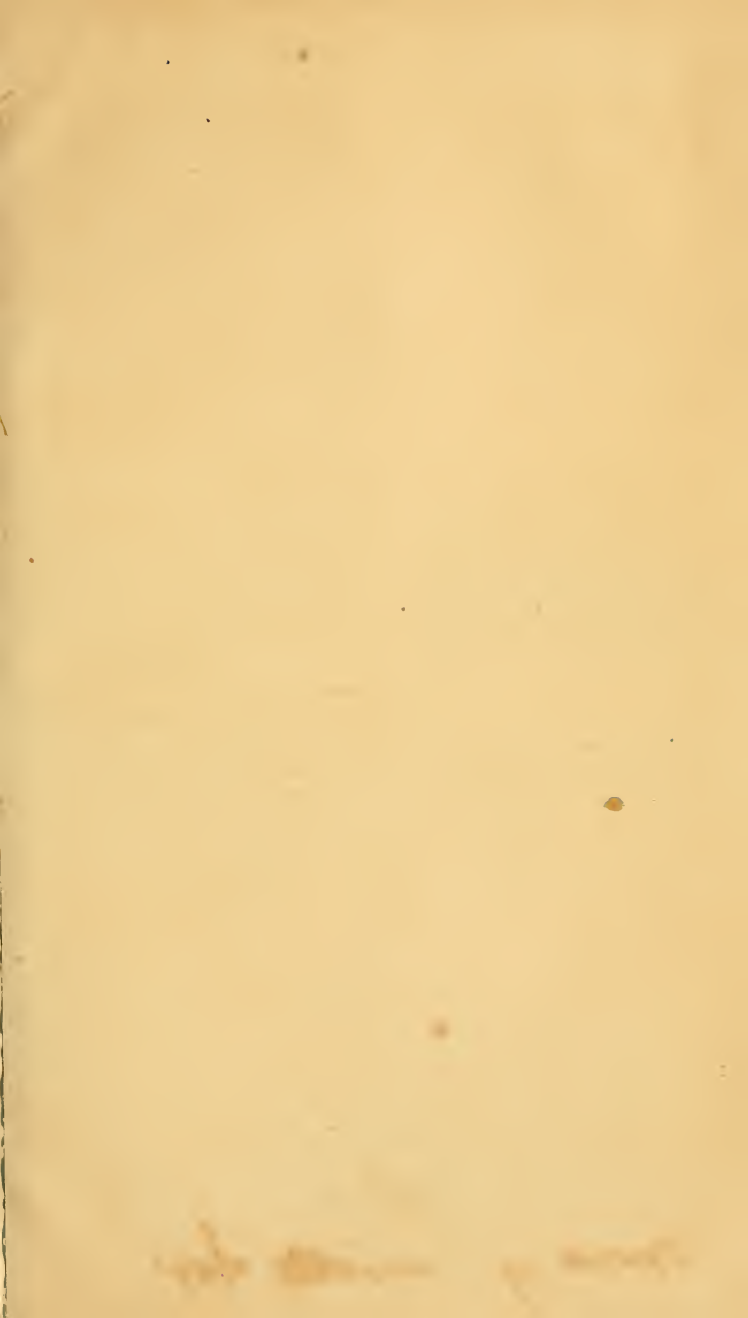
While he was thus peacefully enjoying the evening of life, he was again supplicated to assist his country. The insults and aggressions received from France threatened an appeal to arms. All eyes were upon the late commander in chief, as the only person that ought to be trusted with the command of the army. He felt himself implicated as an American, in the national honour, and accepted of the important charge.

This was the last official act, of this Father of his country. On the fourteenth of December, 1799, he departed this life, at his seat at Mount Vernon, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, after having reaped a full harvest of glory.

General Washington was about six feet in height, his eyes were grey but full of animation: his countenance serene and expressive, not exposed to the frequent indulgence of mirth: his limbs muscular and well proportioned. Majestic and solemn in his deportment. It has been asserted that he never was seen to smile during the revolutionary war. He generally expressed himself with perspicuity and diffidence, but seldom used more words than were necessary for the elucidating of his opinion. He had the urbanity of a gentleman, without the pageantry of pride; he qualified denials in so kind a manner, that a disappointment carried no sting along with it. Such was the great Washington! Where will America find his equal?

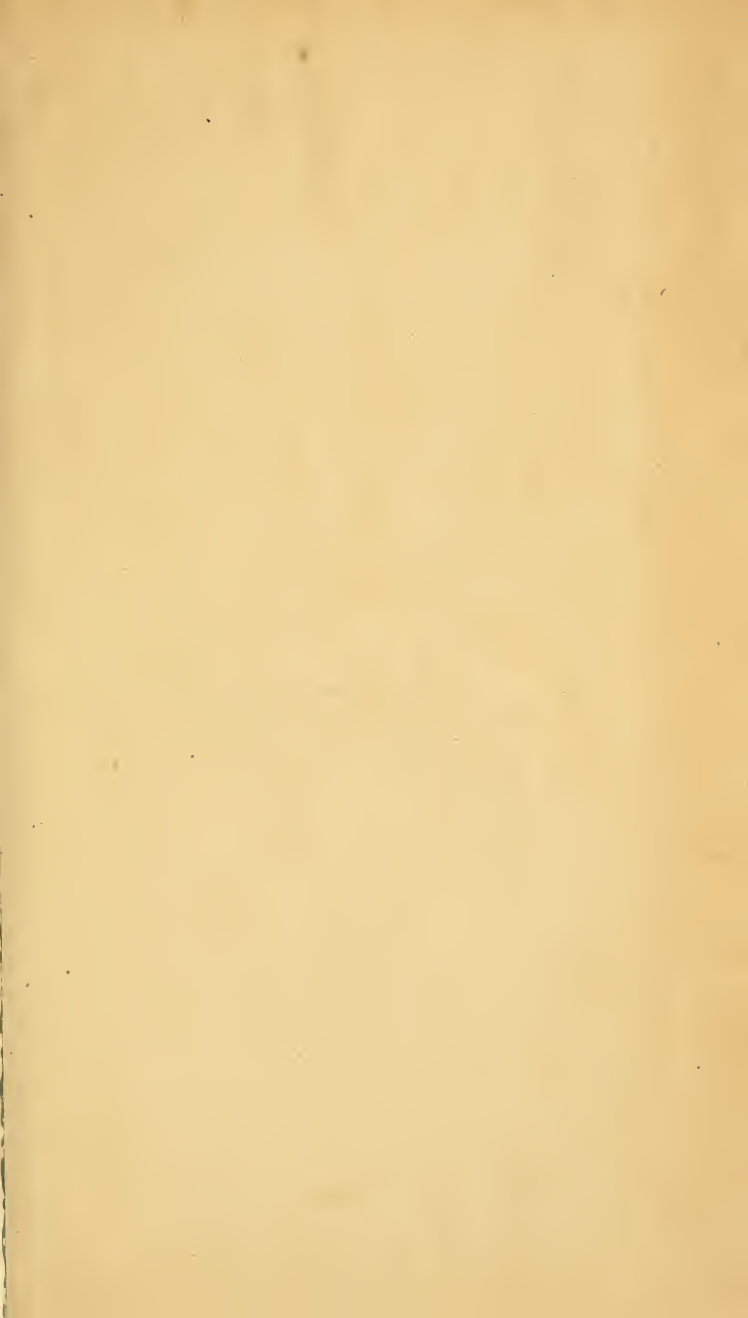
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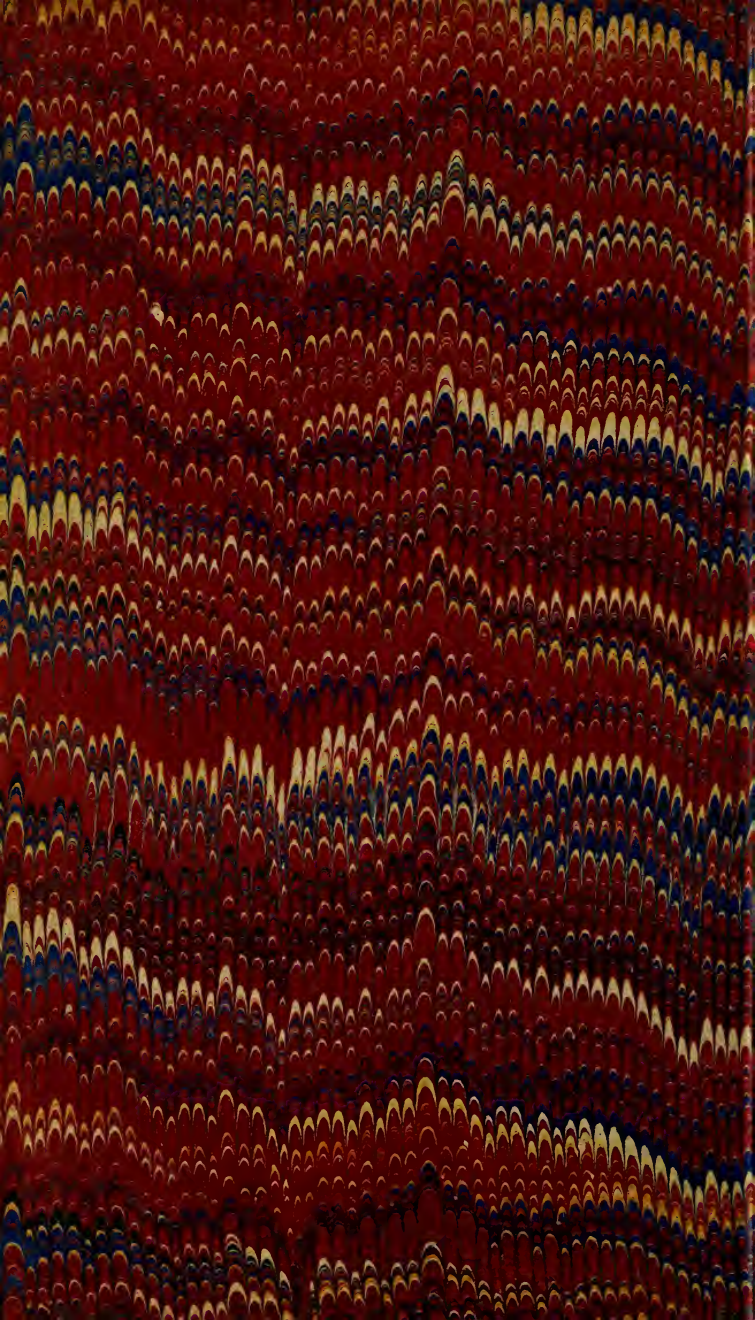
*John Adams*







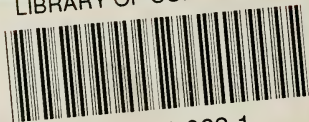








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